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Noes—cont.

Sri V. Durgaprasad Veerabhadra Deo Bahadur.	Sri K. Ishwara.
„ P. Gunnayya.	„ N. N. Suvarna.
„ L. Lakshmana Das.	„ L. C. Pais.
„ K. Suryanarayana.	„ E. K. Sankara Varma Raja.
„ P. Sangam Naidu.	„ B. Vaikunta Baliga.
„ Raja Sagi Suryanarayana Raju.	„ M. S. Mogral.
„ P. Venkatasubbiah.	„ K. Veeranna Padal.
„ K. V. Vema Reddi.	„ V. Darmalinga Nayakar.
„ G. Sivasankara Reddi.	„ N. C. Ramasamy Kander.
„ S. Narayanappa.	„ Somasundara Gounder.
„ K. Santhappa.	Janab K. Uppi.
„ P. Ranga Reddi.	Sri M. Chadayan.
„ N. Gopala Menon.	Janab C. Ahmed Kutti.
„ A. Appu.	„ Kunhi Mohamed Shaffee.
„ B. Krishnamoorthy Row.	„ K. M. Seethi.
„ A. Balarama Reddi.	Sri G. Samia Koorayer.
„ D. Ramabrahmam.	„ V. Balakrishnan.
„ K. Adikesavalu Naidu.	„ M. Rajeswara Rao.
„ H. Ramalinga Reddi.	„ A. Veloo.
„ G. Nagabhushanam.	„ C. Subbarayudu.
„ Ijari Sirasappa.	„ P. Kotaiah.
„ Kotra Basayana Goud.	„ V. Sankaranarayana Menon.
„ T. Malliah.	„ K. T. Sridharan.
„ T. Anantha Pai.	„ M. Narayana Kurup.
„ Y. Manjaya Shetty.	„ M. Narayana Nambiar.
„ K. Venkataramana Gowda.	„ C. Kunhirama Kurup.

Neutral.

Sri P. Thimma Reddi.	Sri P. Pundarikakshacharyulu.
„ G. Latchanna.	„ K. V. Ramesam.
„ M. Muni Reddi.	„ M. Srungaram.
„ K. Appala Naidu.	„ K. Venkatanarayana Dora.
„ P. Bapu Naidu.	„ N. Venkatayya.
„ B. Gangayya Naidu.	„ M. Gangappa.
„ K. Narayana.	„ M. Pentannaidu.

Ayes : 147; Noes : 170; Neutral : 14.

The cut motion was lost.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I shall now put the original motion to the vote of the House. The question is—

‘ That the Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 77,91,100 under Demand II—State Excise Duties.’ ”

The Demand was carried and the Grant was made.

(2) DEMAND XIV—POLICE.

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I move—

‘ That the Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,10,82,100 under Demand XIV—Police.’ ”

“ Sir, the Demand for the year 1952-53 is slightly higher than the Demand for 1951-52 but the Demand provides for only normal expenditure. Certain hon. Members have complained that the Police Budget is on the increase. It is true that the Police Budget as it stands to-day, is higher than what it was prior to 1945-46. The increase in expenditure is due to the periodical revision of

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the scales of pay of the Constabulary, grant and revision of dearness allowances, increase in the mechanized mobility of the Forces, revision of railway fares, increase in the cost of clothing, arms and equipment, and increase under contingencies in the District Police Offices.

" During the last few years, there has been no increase in the strength of the District Armed Reserves and Malabar Special Police but a new force called the Special Armed Police has been created and new stations and some extra staff have been sanctioned to cope with special outbreaks of lawlessness and certain other activities. I need not name them now but most of them are understood by hon. Members of the House. There has been retrenchment in the special staff during the last few months and the question of the reduction of the strength of the Special Armed Police is under active consideration, in view of the changed policies of those who were the instigators of the crimes referred to.

" Regarding housing, Sir, I would like to say a word or two. The urgency of the need to house the entire Force suitably is realized. The Government quarters available for Sergeants, Sub-Inspectors, Head Constables and Constables, who are entitled to rent free quarters are as under: The number of quarters existing for Sergeants-Major and Sergeants is 147. The percentage proportionate to the sanctioned permanent strength in their ranks works out to 54.8. The number of quarters existing for Sub-Inspectors is 578 and the percentage works out to 38.1. There are 2,348 quarters for Head Constables and the percentage in their case is 56.3. For the constables there are 17,919 quarters. The percentage in this case works out to 55.9.

" The rest of the officers are living in rented quarters. Government are actually bearing a rent-roll of about Rs. 24 lakhs per annum on behalf of the members of the Force who are not provided with Government quarters. This system is not satisfactory for several reasons. In view of the present financial position, no additional police building Part II schemes were sanctioned for 1952-53, but some of the schemes sanctioned in the previous year costing about Rs. 33 lakhs will have to be executed during the year in addition to certain Part I schemes which are sanctioned under special circumstances from time to time.

" I shall not take the time of the House with a review of the past. I now move that the present Demand XIV—Police be accepted by the House."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Motion moved—

' That Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rupees 7,10,82,100 under Demand XIV—Police.'

" Four hours have been allotted for this Demand. If the House has no objection, we shall sit till 6.30 p.m. and finish this Demand."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" Sir, the office staff are complaining that they have to work for longer hours

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due to our late sittings. I think that something should be done to them by way of compensation. Otherwise, I propose we do not sit for longer hours than the scheduled time."

MR. SPEAKER:—"This is a matter concerning the office. As a matter of fact, I have greater sympathy for the staff than the hon. Member."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"Sir, I have said that the office staff are working for long hours. I only want to know what you, Mr. Speaker, propose to do for them by way of compensation."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"The Government are looking after the staff, Sir. Perhaps the Opposition feel that they are doing so."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move—

'That the allotment of Rs. 7,10,82,100 under Demand XIV—Police be reduced by Rs. 100.'"

MR. SPEAKER:—"Cut motion moved—

'That the allotment of Rs. 7,10,82,100 under Demand XIV—Police be reduced by Rs. 100.'"

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Sir, the Hon. the Chief Minister was good enough to say while introducing the Demand that certain complaints were being made by some hon. Members that the Police expenditure had been rising continuously ever since 1945-46. It has not increased gradually, Sir. The increase has been tremendous. The figures speak for themselves. The Hon. the Chief Minister has told us in his opening speech that the increase was due to grant of increased salaries and dearness allowances to the officials in the Police department, increase in the mechanised mobility of the Forces and all that.

"If hon. Members look at the Budget for 1938-39 when the British Government was supposed to be ruling this country, they will know that that Government was spending only Rs. 1,60,00,000 for the Police. All hon. Members are aware that the British administration was a Police administration. Even that administration which used to keep the people under check and duress, spent only about one and half crores of rupees. Of course they increased the Police Budget to a slight extent. We find that during 1945-46, just before the Congress took office, the British administration spent only Rs. 2,98,00,000 under the head 'Police.' As hon. Members are well aware, the year 1946 was an eventful year in our history. There were terrible upheavals in the country against the continuance of the British Raj. The naval ratings went on revolt. Disorders took place in different parts of the country. In spite of all these things, the British Government in 1945-46 spent only Rs. 2,98,00,000. What did we find as soon as the Congress came into power in 1946? A sudden increase in the charges of

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administration. Gradually every year we find an increase. On the top of this all, we have now the present Demand for Rs. 7 crores and odd.

" I would like to know whether the Hon. Chief Minister is really serious when he says that the increase in the expenditure has been covered by the increased salaries and dearness allowances given to the Constabulary and other police officials. After all, the Constable is now paid the same pay of Rs. 25 per month and the same dearness allowance. Can this be attributed to the increase in the Police expenditure? Is it not a fact that the number of Police officers in this State has increased enormously during the period of 1946-1951? The bureaucratic British Government required only Rs. 2,98,00,000 to administer the Police department. The Congress wants more. Not something more. But as much as Rs. 7 crores and odd are required under the Police head.

" The Hon. Chief Minister told us that it was because of the lawless activities of a certain party, the Government had to incur a lot of expenditure in the past, so far as the Police were concerned. If the Hon. Chief Minister were to bring in specific charges, I would be prepared to answer him, Sir.

" In the course of his speech on the Prohibition Demand, the Hon. Chief Minister has told us: ' Even in courts we find a lot of perjury taking place. There is sifting of evidence. Without perjury there is no need for two lawyers, one to defend and the other to prosecute. The Judge has to decide between the two and arrive at a conclusion either this way or that.'

" Well, Sir, when it comes to a question of proving that we have been responsible for certain crimes referred to, let the Hon. Chief Minister turn his attention to the courts that tried us. Our trials took place in courts at a time when we were not even allowed to defend ourselves. I can even cite examples wherein lawyers who came to defend us have been detained merely on the ground that they came to defend the Communists. Recently there was a case in Tirunelveli, where the defence counsel was detained because the Communists were involved in the case. Such is the sort of administration which the Congress Government are running. Besides dealing with us in this way they now come and point their finger against us and say that we are the people who had instigated these crimes. More than the Government force, let me say on the floor of this House, there is the great force, the force of the people, which is the greatest tribunal to decide. When I say people, I mean the people of Tanjore, the people of Telangana and the people of Andhra. They are the people who have to give the verdict. They did give the verdict. What was the verdict? The verdict was the refusal to accept the leadership of the Congress which had misruled for the past five years. If the Hon. Chief Minister refuses to recognize that verdict at any rate I shall not do so.

" I would like to mention something about the story that is being told here, day in and day out, that we were the people who had been committing violence. In season and out of season the same story is being repeated. Let the Hon. Chief Minister order

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an open enquiry in the matter. Let a committee of hon. Members of this House be appointed for the same. We shall face the enquiry in the open and prove who has been guilty of violence, and who were indulging in lawless activities.

“ The Hon. the Chief Minister referred to the case of Mr. Jayasurya, some time before. The Hon. the Chief Minister was the Governor-General of India during the year 1948, when the trouble in Telengana took place and when the ‘ police-action ’ against Hyderabad took place. He used to say that Mr. Jayasurya was an honest man, a truthful man, and a man who had something of truthfulness in his heart. He used to say that Mr. Jayasurya was a man who would make a statement only when he knew the facts. Well, such a man has made a statement recently in the Parliament. He has said that just before the military forces of India entered Hyderabad, the Communists, who till then, had been defending the people against the Razakars wanted to come to terms with the military forces, on condition that the Nizam was dethroned, but that the Hon. Sardar Patel who was at the helm of affairs then said, ‘ Finish off the Communists ’. This was the statement made by no less a person than Mr. Jayasurya. No one has till now come forward to refute that statement.

“ Even now I say on the floor of this House that we are prepared to face an open enquiry into the lawless activities with which we have been charged by the Government. We will prove who was guilty. But the Government are adopting the Goebels’ tactics, viz., the bigger the lie the more is the number of times you should go on repeating it. That was the tactics adopted by Goebels during the last World War. He did not succeed. It did not pay him. Let me tell openly to this Government that they can never hope to succeed by adopting the same tactics. Take your own Constitution. What is that is written at the top—‘ Satyamevā Jayathe ’. It is truth alone that will succeed. We are truthful and we show the people where the truth lies. Let them decide.

“ What is the huge Police Force for? It is said that it is for maintaining law and order. That is a very euphemistic term. What is the sort of law and order that is being maintained here? If a landlord has a dispute with the ryot, he immediately calls the Police and they come and silence the ryot, of course with force in some cases. Immediately an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, would be promulgated there on the spot. If the mirasdar complained against the ryot who demanded a greater share of the ‘ varam ’, the Police would come in as though there had been a breach of the peace. The poor ryot would be terrorised. I am not exaggerating but I am only referring to specific instances which have happened in Tanjore, Tirunelveli and some parts of Andhra. Even if there are small disputes, the Police would come in and terrorise the villagers. The poor ryot would be told : ‘ If you demand anything more in your wages, you will be sent to jail ’. This is the sort of terrorisation that is taking place.

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“ I shall give a typical instance. A Trade Union Leader has got the following letter from a Deputy Superintendent of Police.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member will continue his speech after lunch. The House will now rise for lunch and meet again at 2-30 p.m.”

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ I am sorry, Sir, that the Hon. the Chief Minister who is in charge of the Police portfolio is not here.”

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR :—“ I shall take notes and pass them on to him, Sir.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Sir, this morning I was talking to the House about the ways of the Police force, and I was referring to a particular letter addressed by one Mr. R. Doraiswamy Mudaliyar, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Gobichettipalayam, to the Secretary, Mettupalayam-Nilgiris Motor Workers' Union, dated 14th May 1952, i.e., after the present Chief Minister assumed office. This is the letter :

Ref.—Your letter, dated 9th May 1952. I wish to inform you that you should immediately sever all your activities in respect of the motor workers and other labourers, engaged in Bhavani project, as I am inclined to believe that your interference will only embolden the dismissed workers to do such acts as would involve serious loss to Government, and, above all seriously affect the progress of the project work which cannot be delayed at all, if immediate relief from acute famine conditions and food production is to be expected.

Here is a police officer who, in the name of saving the country from famine—I am very glad that a police officer is so very much concerned with the famine conditions in the country—tells the Trade Union Secretary that he must sever all his activities in respect of the workers and labourers engaged in the project, that he cannot take up the question of the dismissed workers, etc. That is the tenor of the letter. Then the letter goes on—

‘ I am also reliably informed that you are actively backing the dismissed coolies and a few other labourers and also instigating them to do acts of sabotage or make arrangements to that end with the existing coolies.’

Nothing need be proved so far as this officer is concerned; somebody goes and informs him that such and such a thing is likely to happen, and that is sufficient for him. And therefore, he says, ‘ I am reliably informed that you are about to sabotage or to act in a manner which is likely to sabotage ’.

‘ Therefore, it may not be out of place if I give you this timely warning, that you should stop your activities in the project area and its surroundings at once.’

This is the way in which the rights of the Trade Union organization are respected by police officers. I will now read the last sentence of the letter :

‘ You will admit that several of the amenities prayed for in the demand notice are being enjoyed by the labourers at present and the Government and the officers in charge are always inclined to do all that is needed to improve the conditions of the labourers in the project.’

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One fine morning this gentleman goes to the Engineer there—about whose conduct of course we have got much to say—I cannot say anything about it now and here, and this is not the occasion for it—and he authorizes this gentleman, the Deputy Superintendent of Police, to go into the question. . But what exactly are the grievances of the workers, which of them have been conceded and which not; who is to check all that, I cannot understand. He says—

‘ Your interference which has already affected the discipline and volume of work turned out by coolies and which is likely to lead to complications, is not at all necessary.’

This is how a Deputy Superintendent of Police has got the temerity to give a warning to a Trade Union Leader of the place, and to ask him to stop all activities in connection with the Trade Union; and this is the way most Police officers are behaving. The moment a local Engineer tells him that he should do something, immediately an order goes forth under section 30 of the City Police Act, which has been extended to that area, though an order under section 30 of the Police Act is intended not for prohibiting a meeting but for regulating it—at any rate that is the language of the section as I know it. When the General Secretary of the Mettupalayam-Nilgiris Motor Workers’ Union asked for permission to hold a public meeting, the Inspector of Police, Gobichettipalayam, in his letter of the 15th May says—

‘ Your petition requesting for permission to hold a meeting in a public place at Mudukuntharai on 18th May 1952 is read. Permission to hold public meeting is refused as it is likely to lead to an imminent breach of the public peace.’

So, there is no need to go to a Magistrate; any Inspector can take it upon himself to say that ‘ there is bound to be an imminent breach of the public peace ’. He is the monarch of all he surveys in that area, and my right to hold a public meeting is therefore under the mercy and the sweet will and pleasure of an ordinary Police Inspector. This is not the only occasion when permission for holding meetings was refused; consistently on many other occasions after that, whenever such permission was asked for, it was refused. For instance, with reference to a petition, dated 26th May 1952 requesting permission to hold a meeting, the order is, ‘ The permission sought for is refused ’. And he cannot assign any reason for this refusal; as I said, he is the monarch in that area and he thinks there is nobody to question him. This police officer has acted on his own. As a matter of fact, I met the Deputy Superintendent of Police and made representations to him; I told him that section 30 was not intended to prohibit meetings but only to regulate meetings. But there is an officer who did not agree. Later I told him that I would go and defy the order. Not that I was serious in doing so, but because I wanted him to know that I desired to test it in a court of law, so that he might not lathi-charge the workers. I made it clear that we would disobey orders purely for the purpose of testing the correctness of it, but the Deputy Superintendent said, ‘ You may take the chance ’; and that is the answer we got from the Deputy Superintendent. Even the Deputy Superintendent of Police does not care to interfere in

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a case where the fundamental right guaranteed to us under the Constitution is sought to be abused and grudged by a police officer, of the rank of an Inspector of Police. This, Sir, is the way in which the police officers are behaving. As I said, a number of cases like this are happening throughout the State. I have many times brought it to the notice of the Hon. the Chief Minister that throughout the Tanjore district cases of eviction are on the increase, that the moment the workers and peasants in a particular village begin to agitate against their eviction, a mirasdar sends word to the police and the District Superintendent of Police immediately marches there with a posse of reserve police. For instance, he has gone to a number of villages in Kivalur, Mannargudi, etc.—in fact he draws up a regular tour programme for touring the Kisan-trouble affected villages. I do not mind if the District Superintendent of Police goes about the villages with a view to find out what exactly the trouble is; on the other hand, he goes with a posse of reserve police threatening the people, 'Why are you agitating to-day? Do you think the Communists have been returned in good numbers, and therefore you can once again start the Kisan agitation? No, no. If you do any such thing, we will repeat what we did in the years 1948 and 1949'. This is what is happening in the Tanjore district. In Samudayakarai, Kivalur and other places, in fact, everywhere the Kisans are being arrested. For what? For claiming the right to till the land which they have been tilling for generations now. Now, the mirasdar asks them to go away. Why, nobody can understand. Suppose for instance I have been in possession of a land for a long time, and if the mirasdar wants me to quit the land, why should he not go to a law court and see that I am evicted? As far as the poor peasants are concerned, they are too poor to go to a court; so when the mirasdar requests help, immediately the police force is let loose and forcibly these poor peasants who have tilled their lands for generations together are got out. This is the sort of police that is in existence to-day. It may of course be stated that after all the police is there to uphold law, that they are very good people, and all that. But despite the tremendous certificate that our Chief Minister is prepared to bestow on the police, I submit that the people of this country are not going to accept that certificate, because they have day in and day out experienced the zoolum that is being practised on them by these police officers. About a week back, in a particular village in the Erode taluk, a woman was alleged to be missing, and the police officer there took it into his head to think that the woman had been murdered by somebody. One person in that village was caught hold of—my hon. Friend Mr. K. T. Raju will supply the names of the concerned people—and the village munsif also came, and publicly that man was abused, beaten and taken to the police station and kept there for three days; he was beaten black and blue, at the end of which he was forced to confess that he had murdered that woman and had buried her somewhere. Afterwards, this very woman was found to be begging in the Mahajana street in the Erode town, and then the man in the police station got released. It is clear therefore that

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the confession had been extracted in this case; I may say this is what happened in regard to a number of conspiracy cases which were launched in the years 1948 and 1949. Confession statements were extracted from a number of witnesses, but they all turned hostile afterwards. That is why we continually say that the amount of money that is now sought to be spent on the Police Force is not intended for the purpose of helping the poor people; it is a misnomer to say that it is intended for keeping law and order. What is meant perhaps is that the police are not there for the sake of the workers, the peasants or the middle-class people; they are there for the moneyed people, the mirasdars and the rich people. We are also asked why not we go to a court of law. We all know what a court of law is. The first question that is generally put in a court of law is 'What is the amount of land revenue you pay?' or, 'What is the amount of income-tax you pay?' The truthfulness or otherwise of a witness even according to the system now prevalent, is dependent on the amount of land revenue or income-tax that he pays to the Government. If he does not pay either land revenue or income-tax then the man has no status and he can be, and he is, expected to tell any kind of falsehood. (The Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari: Times have changed.) But, even now, take this House itself; the pass for the Distinguished Visitors' Gallery, in items Nos. 6 and 7 of the rules for its issue refers to a person paying land revenue or income-tax. I submit therefore that the amount that is asked for in this Demand is not intended for bringing about a better way of life for the people, but it is intended to protect the rich, the mirasdars and the big landholders and capitalists. Government are not spending any amount for improving the amenities to the other sections of the public as evidenced by their disinclination to give better wages to the workers and to guarantee them better conditions of life."

* SRI T. ANANTHA PAI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, 10 minutes is hardly sufficient for me to justify an expenditure of Rs. 7 crores." 2-45 p.m.

MR. SPEAKER :—" Even if it is Rs 100 crores, I will allow only ten minutes."

* SRI T. ANANTHA PAI :—" Anyway, I do justify the expenditure as things stand. Of course, the Opposition will have strong arguments against this huge expenditure on Police. It is easy for them to tell the people that there is going to be a Police Raj or there is already one, and it is very easy to mislead the people. In respect of Public Works, in respect of Education and in respect of any other thing, it would be very difficult for them to go and tell the people, 'Well, we do not really want these things'. But so far as Police is concerned, it is very easy to point out instances here and there, of Police atrocities and the enforcement of orders under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code or under section 41 of the Madras City Police Act and say, 'If we had come to power, all these would not have been necessary at all'. Sir, I have gone through the Budgets of all the other States in India. I find that Madras, perhaps, is the one State which has

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been spending on items like Education and Public Health and other nation-building activities much more than what other States are spending. The States of Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and Bombay are spending larger sums on the Police than on any other item, and I do find that the rise in the expenditure on this account between 1946 and 1952 is not considerable when we take into consideration other factors. The Government of Bombay which spent in 1943-44, Rs. 3½ crores has budgeted for an expenditure of Rs. 9½ crores this year. The Government of Uttar Pradesh last year spent Rs. 7½ crores under this item out of a total expenditure of Rs. 54 crores. I say this, because very often I have heard in this very House, people saying that the Police are not paid well, and at the same time, complaining that we are spending a lot of money on the Police. Then again, a lot of sympathy is expressed for the Police, and at the same time, they go and tell the people, 'Here is the Police Raj: if we come to power we will set matters right by sending them back home'. In fact, I even casually asked an hon. Gentleman sitting on the other side, if his party came to power, what would be their expenditure under this head. He said, 'The expenditure would be about Rs. 1½ crores'. I said, 'To keep a few disturbing elements under control, the State has to spend Rs. 7 crores, and if all the people are to be kept under control when you come to power, I wonder whether Rs. 1½ crores would be sufficient, indeed it would be hardly sufficient'. I say this because I want to make one thing clear. Let the people know that there is nothing inconsistent between democracy and an efficient police force. In order to maintain democracy and in order to maintain democratic institutions, it is absolutely necessary that there should be an efficient police force. In order to guarantee the very fundamental rights given to us under our Constitution, it is absolutely necessary that we must have a police force. I tell my friends of the Communist Party that, but for this police force, the fundamental rights which they are enjoying to-day would not be enjoyed by them. They are guaranteed to them by the very police whom they want to remove. I say this because very often lip-service is paid to democratic ideals and to our Constitution, which all of us should hold sacred. I know the very Constitution has been slighted very often in this very House. It has been referred to in slighting terms as a much-talked-of Constitution. In another place, it is referred to as a Constitution drawn up by Congressmen. But it is not a Constitution drawn up by Congressmen alone. It is to-day, the Constitution of India and everyone of us has taken an oath that we owe allegiance to it. If we want the Constitution to be amended, we have all the right to do it but only in a democratic way. But the Communists do not believe in that. Even outside the House, they go about saying, 'Here is a Constitution drawn up by the so-called Congressmen. Why did this State cede to the Centre all the powers of taxation and say now that they do not have powers of taxation?' It may be a very clever way of making the people of this State discontented against the Centre. They have also made a charge that there was a conspiracy between the Congressmen of this State and the Centre that the Centre

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should enjoy all the powers of taxation and starve this State. False propaganda is a danger which we have to guard against in this country. I do feel that we have got all the raw materials necessary for communism in this country. We have great poverty and great many problems. We have to solve this question of poverty, and I do not think that the Communists can solve this question. Exploitation of any type is bad. Exploitation of poverty is bad. Even the Communist exploitation is no exception to it. Sir, we have got a set of young men charged with wrong ideals carrying on propaganda and making the people believe in wrong ideals. Policemen are not here to keep people away from Communism. Policemen are there to see that the fundamental rights given to us in our Constitution are guaranteed both to the Communists and non-Communists, and that the people of this country choose the Government they want. Sir, leaders like our Chief Minister can reasonably look back with a considerable amount of pride on their achievements, and I do not think they have any vested interests in this country. The vested interests, so far as this country is concerned, belong to members of the younger generation. The whole future of our country is entirely left to us, and what we make of the country is our responsibility. So long as we do not realize it, what the problems facing us are, and how we have to face the future, I do not think our problems would be solved. Any amount of propaganda in and outside the House about the police would be of no use. The Hon. the Chief Minister has given reasons for the increase in the expenditure. Increase in pay and dearness allowances and increase in the strength of the police force have been responsible for it. He said, it had become necessary to have a special police force in view of the disturbed conditions in the Andhra areas and in some areas of the South. We, who belong to the district of South Kanara, may not realize what is means for the people of Andhra whose life and property are in constant danger. I saw with my own eyes what had happened in a place in the Andhra area, when I once visited the place. I saw people standing guard at night in order to protect themselves and their property. I asked what was the matter. They said it was a precautionary measure to meet the Communist menace. Well, if my friends want to take up the responsibility of running the Government, let them not create conditions where unsocial elements, who have no respect for law and even for communism, can have their own way. They must not be allowed to terrorise the people by masquerading under the name of a political party. If you want to preach Communist principles, by all means do it. If communism is necessary, let it come by the front door. But do not create conditions where communism could come by the back door. In these matters, we have got to be very careful and I repeat again, that we must have an efficient and well-paid police staff. I do not mean, however, that there is no scope for improvement. There is scope for improvement in the matter of recruitment, prescribing qualifications and making our policemen efficient. It is only the efficiency of the police force which will keep the democratic institutions alive and guarantee the fundamental rights of the people of this country. I thank you, Sir."

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SRI K. V. RAMESAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to move a cut motion tabled by me.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member Mr. Ramamurthi has already moved a cut motion.”

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—“ On a point of order, Sir. When an hon. Member has already moved his cut motion, does it prevent another hon. Member from moving his cut motion? Every Member has got the privilege to move a cut motion.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ There is no such thing as ‘privilege’ involved in this matter. One Member has to move a cut motion and the other Members will speak on it. If every Member who has given notice of a cut motion is allowed to move his cut motion, the Demand won’t be finished within the time allotted for it.”

SRI K. V. RAMESAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to point out one salient feature in the administration of the Police department. There is peace and there is protection for life and property as has been referred to by my previous speaker just now. But from 1938 up to the present day, we find an increase in expenditure by nearly four times and even more than that. This huge expenditure is not justified. Of course I find from the statistical information that is available that the cost of every material has increased, but that is no justification for increasing the expenditure to four times what it was in 1938. In recent times the expenditure has mounted up on account of the Communist menace in some parts of our State. But I submit that that menace is not so dangerous and so grave as is thought to be by the authorities, and in view of the fact that several Members of the Communist group are Members of this august Assembly, there is also the guarantee that they would protect the life and property of the citizens. They are equally responsible to the people. Also, in view of the attitude that this Party has taken up in recent times, I submit that this expenditure, which had mounted up immensely on account of the Communist menace, may be reduced to a considerable extent. I further submit that this expenditure may be cut down as much as possible consistent with the needs of the society for the protection of life and property.

“ Then, I revert to the subject on which I sent notice of my cut motion. In the headquarters of taluks there are no fire stations. Almost every year, from February to the end of June, thatched houses in many villages in the rural areas are burnt down, and compensation is paid by the Government for the poor people to rethatch the houses. In this way a huge expenditure is incurred by the Government on account of fire accidents. So far as my taluk is concerned, the expenditure comes to several thousands of rupees every year, and this is not a feature of any one particular year. Therefore, I feel that it is absolutely necessary to keep a fire station at least in the headquarters of every taluk. That would save to a great extent the money that is now spent by way of compensation to those people whose houses are burnt on account of fire accidents or otherwise. Therefore fire stations may be stationed

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at least in all taluk headquarters. From February to the end of June, there should be fire squads ready to function. That is the season when there is no rain and I find that during this period most thatched houses are burnt down by fire. I hope Government will come forward and do this help for the poor people. I suggest that the allotment made for fire squads may be increased, and they may be stationed in the taluk headquarters for the six months from February to July every year.

"Then, Sir, there is an anomaly in the jurisdiction of the police stations in my district. For instance, in the recently bifurcated district of Visakhapatnam, some taluks are within the jurisdiction of the District Superintendent of Police, Vizianagaram. This causes much inconvenience to the people who want police aid. The police divisions of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, and Bimlipatam are situated in Visakhapatnam district, whereas Salur, Bobbili and other taluks are situated in Srikakulam district. Therefore it is highly necessary that an adjustment of territorial jurisdiction should be made. There should be a District Superintendent of Police located only in Srikakulam district. Then, Sir, in the case of police stations, which are in charge of Sub-Inspectors, the territorial jurisdiction is based on the inclusion of a minimum number of villages. This jurisdiction was formed long, long ago, and it has been continuing all along. This causes very serious inconvenience to the people, who want police aid, as they have to go a long distance to reach the proper police station. I suggest a readjustment of villages may be made in the light of the working of the present system of jurisdiction. I thank you, Sir."

* SRI T. LAKSHMINARAYANA REDDI :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the budget amount allotted under the head 'Police' cannot be accepted, and I support the cut motion. The police functioning in India today do not serve the common people. They are only serving the interests of the feudal lords and the capitalists. They are suppressing the interests of the working class and the labouring class. It is an Imperialist Police Force we have now in this State, just like the police in Franco's Spain, in Mussolini's State or in Hitler's State. The police in this State are suppressing the legitimate interests of the common people. If we look into the budget figures we see that in 1946-47 the amount spent on the Special Police was Rs. 6.32 lakhs; in 1952-53 it is Rs. 77.95 lakhs. So the amount spent on the Special Police is enormous. Under Ordinary Police the amount spent in 1946-47 was Rs. 329.94 lakhs; while in 1952-53 it is Rs. 496.27 lakhs. The amount spent on Ordinary Police is increasing every year. Over and above this is the amount spent on the Malabar Special Police. The present police are there only to maintain the party in power in office and its influence in the country, but not to maintain law and order. They are not functioning properly. They are only functioning just like the Fascist Police, and the Imperialist Police. They are not functioning like the police in any democratic country protecting the rights of the people, as we see in China. From the publications made in China, we see that the police there are rendering great help to the public. Here also, the police should undergo

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a radical change in their attitude towards the common people, the public. They should serve the common man and not the feudal class or the exploiting class. I need not quote many instances to support my statement. Take the case of the punitive police stationed here and there and also in Rayalaseema. There, all the people of the locality are made to pay for the stationing of the police. Even those who had no concern with it are asked to pay. So, Sir, finally my main suggestion to Government is that the police in our State must be a police which will protect the interests of the poor people and the common people. I oppose the Demand, for I want the Government to change the attitude of the police. They should be made to serve the ordinary people."

* SRI R. VENKATA JAGGA RAO :—“అధ్యక్షా, ఈ పోలీసు డిమాండును నేను వ్యతిరేకిస్తూ out motion ను బలపరుస్తున్నాను. ఇట్లు చేయడములో అసలు పోలీస్ డిపార్టుమెంటు డిమాండ్‌ను నా ఉద్దేశము కాదు. ఈ ప్రభుత్వము ఉన్నప్పటికీ, U.D.F. ప్రభుత్వము వచ్చినప్పటికీ, మరి ఏ ప్రభుత్వము వచ్చినప్పటికీ పోలీస్ డిపార్టుమెంటు డిమాండ్‌వలసివచ్చేది. అయితే, ప్రస్తుత పోలీస్ విభాగము పూర్తిగా మారవలసియున్నది. ప్రస్తుత కున్నటువంటి పోలీస్ సిబ్బంది డిపార్టుమెంటు ముఖ్యంగా సామాన్య యధ్యతరగతి ప్రజానీకాన్ని కాపాడునదిగా కాకుండా, కొద్దిమంది అసగ నూటికి పదిమంది ఉన్నటువంటి ధనికులను మాత్రమే కాపాడునదిగా ఉండున్నది. కనుక ఈ డిపార్టుమెంటుయొక్క ప్రస్తుత విభాగము పూర్తిగా తొలిగిపోవలసిన అనిచాయనడుచున్నాను. అయితే ఈ తప్పుడు విభాగానికి ఎవరు బాధ్యులని అడుగవచ్చును. ఈ బాధ్యత అంతా పోలీస్ ఆఫీసర్లపైన వేయుట న్యాయముగాదు. ఈ ఆక్రమ విభాగానికి ప్రభుత్వమే ముఖ్య బాధ్యులు అని మనవిచేయుచున్నాను. ఎందుకనగా ఈ ప్రభుత్వము ధనవంతులయొక్క ప్రభుత్వముగా అన్ని విధాలా ధనవంతులకష్ట సుఖాలనే విచారించేదిగా ప్రవర్తిస్తున్నది గాని వీడ ప్రజానీకముయొక్క ప్రభుత్వముగాదని గత ఆయిదు సంవత్సరములయొక్క ప్రభుత్వ చరిత్ర మనకు స్పష్టముగా బుుజువుచేస్తున్నదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. అంతేకాకుండా, బ్రిటిషు ప్రభుత్వము ఉన్నప్పుడు ఉన్నటువంటి పోలీస్ జులుము కంటెను, ఈ కాంగ్రెసు శివ పు చేతులలో ఉన్నటువంటి ఈ పోలీస్ డిపార్టుమెంటు యొక్క జులుము చాలా ఎక్కువగా ఉన్నదని హాడ మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. దీనికి ఉదాహరణలు చెప్పాలంటే ఏదైనా చెప్పగలను. కాని కొన్ని ఉదాహరణలు మాత్రము నేను చెప్పుచున్నాను. 1949 వ సంవత్సరములో ముఖ్యముగా మా పిరాపురము తాలూకాలో ధాన్యము బస్తా ఒకటింటికీ 35 రూపాయలు మొదలుకొని, 40 రూపాయలు వరకు అమ్మబడుతూ ఉండేది. ధాన్యపు ధరలు ఈ విధముగా ఎక్కువగా ఉన్నందువలన వేద ప్రజానీకము, ముఖ్యంగా వ్యవసాయ కూలీలంతా కూడా వారికి extra wages అసగ ఎక్కువది అశాలు హెచ్చుగా కూలి ఇచ్చుని అడుగుకొన్నారు. అప్పుడు ఉన్నటువంటి కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వము దీనిని తప్పు క్రింద ఛావించి 144 వ సెక్షను అనులులో పెట్టి ఎక్కడైనా కూలీలు మీటింగులు పెట్టుకొన్నా, wages ఎక్కువ ఇచ్చుని ఆడిగినా వీవు బ్రదలౌతుందని tom tom కూడా వేయించారు. అప్పుడు పెద్ద పెద్ద ఘాస్వాములు, ధనవంతులు అంతా కూడా మీటింగులు పెట్టుకొని, కూలీలకు హెచ్చుకూలి ఇవ్వకూడదని, ఇంకా ఇస్తే నాలుగు అశాలు తగ్గించి ఇవ్వాని తీర్చానందుకొన్నారు. కాని ఈ పెద్ద ఘాస్వాముల, ధనవంతుల యొక్క మీటింగులకు ఈ పోలీస్ డిపార్టుమెంటుగాని, 144 వ సెక్షనుగాని అడ్డము

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[Sri R. Venkata Jagga Rao]

రాకుండా, ముఖ్యంగా ఈ పేద ప్రజానీకానికి ఈ కట్టుదిట్టాలన్నీ పెట్టారని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. కనుక, ఇదేనా యీ కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వము పేద ప్రజానీకమువై చూపించినటువంటి దయ అని ప్రభుత్వాన్ని అడుగుచున్నాను. అయితే రాజాజీ ఒక మాట అనవచ్చును. తప్పకుండా అంటారని నాకు తెలుసును. కమ్యూనిస్టులు గనుక చట్టానికి విరుద్ధంగా నడవకుండా ఉంటే యీ పోలీస్ సిబ్బందియొక్క అవసరములేదని వారు చెప్పవచ్చును. అయితే, కాంగ్రెసు పెట్టినటువంటి చట్టాన్ని కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులే ధిక్కరిస్తున్నారని కమ్యూనిస్టులు మూలము కాదు అని నేను గంటాపథంగా వారికి చెప్పగలను. దానికి ఉదాహరణము కూడ చెప్పరున్నాను. కంట్రోల్లు చట్టాన్ని అమలు పెట్టండి కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వము కదా! అయినచో, యీ కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వము పెట్టినటువంటి యీ చట్టాన్ని గాంధీమహాత్మని శిష్యులని చెప్పుకొనేటువంటి యీ కాంగ్రెసు పెద్దలు, యీ కాంగ్రెసు బడా లీడర్లు అంతా అమలు జరిపి ఆ ప్రచారము నడుచుకొన్నారా అని నేను సూటిగా అడుగుతున్నాను. ఎంతమంది కాంగ్రెసు పెద్దలు యీ సిగ్గెయ్యాన్ని అమలుజరిపి తమ ధాన్యాన్ని కంట్రోలు రేటుకు వీడ ప్రజానీకానికి అందజేశారో ఒక మారు గండే మీద చేయి వేసుకొని గాంధీమహాత్మని ముఖము చూసి నిజము చెప్పమని అడుగుతున్నాను. ముఖ్యంగా మా పితాపురము లాలూకాలో ఏఒక్క కాంగ్రెస్ నాయకుడు కూడా తన ధాన్యాన్ని కంట్రోలు రేటుకు అమ్మిఉండలేదని నేను గంటాపథంగా చెప్పగలను అంతేకాకుండా, కొంతమంది ఆ నేక విధమైనటువంటి నీచాతి నీచమైనటువంటి ప్రచారం చేశారు. 'కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వము ఉండబట్టి ఈ రైతాంగం బసా 40 రూపాయలకు 50 రూపాయలకు అమ్ముకొంటూయింది. కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వము పోయి కమ్యూనిస్టు ప్రభుత్వము వచ్చినట్లయిన ధాన్యాన్ని కంట్రోలు రేటుకు ఒక దిబ్బిడీకూడా ఎక్కువ ధరకు అమ్మనివ్వను' అని చెప్పుచూ మున్న ఎరెకన్స్ లో వాహాటంగా కంట్రోల్సును వ్యతిరేకచారని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. అయితే, ఈ మాదిరి వ్యతిరేక ప్రచారముచేస్తూ చట్టాన్ని ధిక్కరించినప్పుడు యీ పోలీసు సిబ్బంది అంతా ఏమి చేసింది. ఈ ప్రభుత్వ మేమిచేసింది అని చూచినట్లయితే యీ పోలీస్ డిపార్టుమెంటు అంతా కూడా మాట్లాడకుండా కూర్చోసింది. అంతేకాదు ఆ పెద్ద పెద్ద భూస్వాములకు, కాంగ్రెస్ లీడర్లకు సహాయంగా ఉండి support చేసిందని నేను మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఇంక, యీ పోలీసు యొక్క చర్యలు గురించి అలోచించి నట్లయితే, రిటివ్ ప్రభుత్వముకూడ చేయించనటువంటి హతుక చర్యలు యీ కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వము వీరి సహాయముతో పోలీస్ డిపార్టుమెంటుచేత చేయించిందని నేను మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ముఖ్యంగా దీనికి ఒక చిన్న ఉదాహరణము చెప్పుచున్నాను. మా లాలూకాలో స్థల్యనారాయణదాసు అనే కమ్యూనిస్టును అసంతం ఆనే ఇంకొక కమ్యూనిస్టును, వీరిని మధ్యాహ్నం ఒంటిగంటకు పట్టుకగలు ఆరెన్ను చేసి, ఆ రాత్రి అంతా పోలీసులు వారిని తమ custody లో యంచుకొని ఆమరునాడు ఉదయము 5 గంటలకు సామర్లకోటకడ యొక కెట్టుకుకట్టి వారిని shoot చేశారు. మాటుచేసి ఏమని ప్రకటించారంటే ఈ ఇద్దరు కమ్యూనిస్టులు ఇంకా కొంతమంది కలిసి ఏదో గ్రామంమీద దాడిచేయటకు వస్తూవుంటే, మేము ముందుగానే తెలుసుకొని త్రోవలో కాచుకొని ఆ కమ్యూనిస్టులను పట్టుకోపోవగా, వారు మా మీద తుపాకులు వేల్పుచుండగా, అప్పుడు మేముకూడ వారితో యుద్ధముచేయగా యీ యుద్ధములో ఆ ఇద్దరు కమ్యూనిస్టులు చనిపోయారు' అని పోలీసు ప్రకటించింది. వీరి స్నేహితులలో ఎంత నిజమున్నదో ఒకమూరి ప్రధానామాత్యులు మా లాలూకాకు వచ్చి ఇందులో నిజమెంతో, అబద్ధమెంతో enquiry చేయమని వారిని ఆహ్వానిస్తున్నాను. ప్రభుత్వానికి బహుశా నిజము తెలిసియుండక పోవచ్చు. కాని, మా లాలూ

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కాలా ప్రజానీకానికంటా కూడా దీనిలో నిజంగా వివిజరిగిందో బాగా తెలుసునని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఇటువంటి ఘాతుక చర్య బ్రిటిష్ గవర్నమెంటు హయాములో కూడ పోలీసులు చేసియుండలేదని చెప్పవలసి యుండుంది. అటువంటి పరాయి ప్రభుత్వమైన బ్రిటిష్ ప్రభుత్వము నైతము థగ్గవత్ సింగు చాంబు చేసినప్పుడు అతనిని మెట్రోనే shoot చేయకుండా, అతనిని న్యాయస్థానానికి తీసుకొనివచ్చి విచారణ చేయించిందనే విషయాన్ని మనము జ్ఞాపకముంచుకోవలసియుండుందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ మాత్రపు విచక్షణ పనిని ఈ కాంగ్రెస్ చేయటకు యిష్టము లేదా అని ప్రభుత్వాన్ని అడుగుతున్నాను. కనుక ఈ పోలీస్ విధానము మారినంత వరకు ప్రభుత్వము ప్రజలు బాగుపడరని మనవిచేస్తూ, ఈ cut motion ను బల పరచుచున్నాను.”

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, while supporting this Demand, I want to say a few words regarding the numbers of the police force. Several Members in the Opposition have been insisting that we should reduce the police force. Our Hon. Chief Minister, while speaking on the Confidence Motion, assured the Communists that if they changed their attitude he would consider the question of reducing the police force. I want to place before the Hon. Chief Minister that he should not even think of reducing the police force. I would suggest to the Chief Minister that steps should be taken to increase their efficiency. One hon. Member suggested that the policemen should be made to feel that they are the policemen to protect the interests of the poor people and the common man. So far as I am concerned, Sir, I would suggest to the Government that the policeman should be there for all people, rich or poor, and they should be above all suspicion and prejudices. That, I submit, Sir, should be the attitude of the police.

“Sir, after the attainment of Independence the efficiency of the police has deteriorated though their behaviour towards the people has improved to a considerable extent. I would therefore suggest to the Chief Minister that in addition to improving their efficiency the police must also be instructed to be more polite towards the people. I can give one or two instances of politeness on the part of the police in England and the police in Stockholm, Sweden, of which I have personal knowledge. While I was in London, I accosted a London policeman and asked him for some information. He immediately stood to attention and saluted me with all courtesy and gave me the information required by me. In Sweden also when I asked of a policeman the name of a street the same thing happened. He also stood to attention and saluted me. He showed me the same courtesy again when he took leave of me. I was simply surprised. I know the police here. *అந்தతే తెలుగు* *అంగ్లేజ్* అప్పా *ఇరుక్కొన్నా* *అన్న* *కేడ్దాల్*; *అద* *బో* *అయ్య* *అన్న* *తాన్* *సోల్ల* *అన్న*. Our policemen should be trained in politeness like the policemen of western countries.

“It has also been mentioned by several hon. Members that in the course of the detection of crimes, our policemen use cruel methods and sometimes even inhuman methods. The Madras Police should be raised to the level of Scotland Yard in the matter of detection of crimes. I know of a case of murder in England

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in which a young man murdered a young girl of eighteen and absconded. Within three days, the police were able to arrest that person. The Daily Express and other newspapers which bring out five or six editions in the course of the day gave information, hour to hour, of the progress of the case. The accused confessed his guilt soon after he was arrested. The British Police are so efficient that no cruel or inhuman methods are used. Our Policemen say that if they are given the same facilities they will also become as efficient as the British Police. I do not know what facilities are required by them. If I suggest that their salaries should be increased, it may affect the financial position of the State, and the Chief Minister and the Finance Minister may not agree to it. Somehow the efficiency of our police must be raised.

“ When Sri B. Gopala Reddi was the Leader of this House, he wanted to change the uniform of our Police. In their present uniforms, they look dull and sickly, and they are not able to command the respect of the public. Their appearance must be such as to command respect. The Scotland Yard Police by their mere appearance are able to make the accused confess their guilt without the Police being cruel or inhuman. Their mere appearance is enough for the criminal to confess his guilt.

“ Coming to the question of economy in the Police Department, I respectfully suggest, Sir, that the posts of Circle Inspectors may be abolished. Sub-Inspectors who are efficient may be promoted as Deputy Superintendents of Police or even as District Superintendents of Police.

“ This morning, Sir, in answer to my question, the Hon. Chief Minister was pleased to state that he was considering the question of providing for the Head Constables who were acting as Sub-Inspectors in the Southern Range and who had now been reverted. I quite agree that it is sufficient to allot 30 per cent of the vacancies of Sub-Inspectors' posts to be filled by promotion from the ranks of Head Constables.

(At this stage, the Deputy Speaker occupied the Chair.)

These 52 Sub-Inspectors who have been reverted have put in more than seven to ten years of service in the higher category, and it is hard luck for them to be asked to revert to the lower rank of Head Constable. I am very glad the Hon. the Chief Minister agreed to consider their case sympathetically.

“ Sir, I have another suggestion to make. After the attainment of Independence, many of the high ranking European officers left India, and a number of Sub-Inspectors have been promoted as Deputy Superintendents and even as District Superintendents of Police. As it usually happens when a number of promotions are made, some, who are not fit to hold these higher posts, were also promoted. If the Hon. Chief Minister is agreeable to investigate the cases of such officers who have been promoted as Deputy Superintendents, District Superintendents or even as Deputy Inspectors-General or Inspector-General of Police, the Chief Minister

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should call for their confidential records and examine whether they are fit to continue. Simply because of the fact that a man has been promoted in spite of his being not so efficient, he should not be allowed to continue. With these words, I support the Demand."

* SRI K. RAJAGOPALA RAO :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, ఇప్పటివరకూ పోలీసుశాఖను పరిపాలిస్తున్న పద్ధతిపోలీసు శాఖకై మంజూరు చేయబడే మొత్తాన్ని గురించి జరుపుతున్న విధానం చాలా లోపభూయిష్టంగా ప్రకటించుకున్నది. ఈ కోత తీర్మానం నేను బలపరచవలసివచ్చింది. ఒక ప్రక్క దేశంలో కలరా, మహుచికను మువ్వల వ్యాధులవల్ల వేద ప్రజానీకం బాధపడుతుంటే మెడికల్ గ్రాంట్సుకొరకు రూ 3,80,000 లు మాత్రమున్నూ కలరా మొదలగు అంతు వ్యాధులు రాష్ట్రంలో తీవ్రంగా ఉన్న సమయంలో వాటిని పరివర్తించడానికి నిర్వహించు వంటి శాఖకునూ రూ 1,49,000 లు మాత్రమున్నూ కోరబడింది. అలాగే వ్యవసాయానికి ప్రధానమైనటువంటి మన రాష్ట్రంలో ఇదివరకు వ్యవసాయానికి ఖర్చు రూ 3,80,00,000 లు మాత్రమే అయితే, ప్రజలవైన నిర్బంధాలు సాగిస్తూ, ప్రజలయొక్క కష్టముఖాలు గుర్తించకుండా పోలీసు శాఖకు మాత్రం రూ 7,16,00,000 లు కోరడం చాలా హాస్యాస్పదము; ఇది రాష్ట్రానికి అనర్థ దాయకమని నాయభిప్రాయము. అయితే యీ మొత్తాన్ని పోలీసు డిపార్టుమెంటులో ఉన్నటువంటి Constables అందరిని కలుపుకొనినా, లేక ఇతర ఉద్యోగస్తులకు మాత్రమేనా అని clear గా లేదు గనుక నేను యీ మొత్తాన్ని అంగీకరించుట లేదు. పోలీసు శాఖకు సంబంధించిన జనానికి సదుపాయాలు కలిగించడానికి విరుద్ధంగా పోలీసు డిపార్టుమెంటు ఈ కోత తీర్మానం పెట్టడంలేదు. మన రాష్ట్రంలో ముఖ్యంగా mufassal లో పోలీసువాళ్లు నివసించే quarters చాలా పీన స్థితిలో ఉన్నవి. అవికాక చాలామంది ఇండ్లులేక బయట ఉంటున్నారు. కనుక వాళ్లకు సరిపడే quarters కట్టించవలసియ్యవచ్చు. ఇదివరకు యీ పోలీసు శాఖకు ప్రత్యేకంగా ఒక హాస్పిటల్ ఉండేది. అది యిప్పుడు రద్దుజేసినారు. వీరికియ్యవలసిన T.A. చాలా తక్కువగా యిస్తున్నారు. యీ పోలీసువాళ్ల జీతములను పెంచటానికి యీ డిపార్టుమెంట్ వెచ్చిపట్టయితే, కోత తీర్మానం పెట్టేవారము కాదు. ఇప్పుడు కోరిన సొమ్ము పోలీసుల జీవితం బాగుపరచుటకు వ్యయం కావడంలేదు. యీ పోలీసుల కష్టముఖాలు చెప్పుకునేందుకుకూడా వారికి అవకాశము లేదు. Mufassal లోనన్న పోలీసువాళ్లు యిబ్బందులు పడుతున్నందువల్ల యీ కోత తీర్మానం పెట్టవలసివచ్చింది. యీ పోలీసులకు ఒక సంఘం పెట్టుకొని, దానిద్వారా నేనా వారి కష్టములను విన్నవించుకొనేందుకు అవకాశంలేకుండా చేయబడింది. ప్రజలను హింసించుటకు మాత్రం పోలీసులను పెంచుచేస్తున్నారు. వారి కష్టములను చెప్పుకొనేందుకు వారికి ఒక సంఘం అనేది ఏర్పరచుకొనటకు అవకాశమివ్వవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను. ఈ పోలీసు శాఖను పరిపాలించే విధానంలో శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు తగిన మార్పు తెచ్చిపెట్టాలి. పోలీసులయొక్క కష్టముఖాలు ఒక సంఘంద్వారా శాసన సభముందు చర్చకు వచ్చే అవకాశం కలిగించవలెను. రాష్ట్రంలో పోలీసు స్టేషనులు ఎక్కువ చేస్తున్నారేకాని వారియొక్క జీవకోపాధిని వృద్ధిచేయాలనే అభిప్రాయం ఈ ప్రభుత్వానికి ఉన్నట్లు లేదు. Commonsense point-of-view ఈ పోలీసు శాఖ పరిపాలనలోను అన్వయించజేస్తారని నా అభిప్రాయం. ఈ రాజాజీగారి మాయాముఖ పోలీసువారివల్ల వేద ప్రజానీకం చాలా కష్టాలకు గురి అవుతున్నారు. శ్రీ రాజాజీగారి రాజనీతి ప్రచీన సాంప్రదాయానికి విరుద్ధమని వారికి మనవిచేయుచున్నాను. ఎక్కడైనా ఒక incident జరిగినప్పుడు దానికి

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[Sri K. Rajagopala Rao]

గురించి లాతుగా పరిశీలించకనే, పోలీసు లారీలలో పోలీసులను పంపుట జరుగుచున్నది. అయితే ఆక్కడకు పోలీసులను పంపడము ఆవసరము కాదని చెప్పడము లేదు చిన్న కేసులకుగూడ ఆవసరంగా పోలీసులను ఉరికించుచున్నారు. నా నియోజకవర్గములో చాలా పోలీసు కాంపులు పెట్టుబడ్డాయి. ఉదాహరణకు శ్రీ రాజాజీగారికి ఒక విషయము చెప్పదలచుకొన్నాను. గన్నవరం తాలూకా దగ్గు కొన్ని గ్రామాలలో పోలీసు కాంపులు పెట్టుబడ్డాయి. మరొక నాలుగు గ్రామాలలో ఎప్పుడూ కూడా 144 సెక్షను అమలులో పెట్టుతున్నారు. శ్రీ రాజాజీ ప్రధాన మంత్రి అయిన తర్వాత ఈ పోలీసు శాఖాధిపత్యం వహించిన తర్వాత, ఈ రోజుకు కూడా ఆ గ్రామాలలో పోలీసు దాడులు జరుగుచున్నాయి. అక్రమంగా అనేక మందిని అరెస్టు చేస్తున్నారు. దినమునకు పదిమంది, ఇరవైమంది, ముప్పయిమందిని అరెస్టుచేసి ప్లేషనులకు, కాంపులకు తీసుకొనిపోయి పోలీసు look-up లో బంధించి చిత్రహింస చేస్తున్నారు. నా నియోజకవర్గంలో మరొక incident శ్రీ రాజాజీ గారికి తెలియపరచుకున్నాను. నేను నా నియోజకవర్గమునకు చెందిన ఒక గ్రామంలో ఒక హరిజన స్త్రీని పోలీసులు పట్టుకొనిపోయి ఒక ఘాస్సామి యింటో పెట్టి, కొట్టగా, గర్భవతి అయిన ఆ హరిజన స్త్రీకి గర్భశాయము అయినది. ఈ విషయము శ్రీ రాజాజీ పాలాచారిగారు ప్రధానమంత్రి వద్దవిని స్వీకరించి, పోలీసు శాఖాధిపత్యము వహించిన తర్వాత జరిగినది. యివిగాక ఎన్నో దురాంతాలు, అత్యాచారాలు ఈ పోలీసులు చేస్తున్నారు. ప్రజలు ఎన్నో పీటిషనుల రూపముగా పోలీసులపై అధికారులకు తెలియజేయగా విచారణ జరగ తీసుకోవడమైన, తుదకు D.S.P. కిని D.I.G. కిని పీటిషనులు పెట్టారు. అందుమీదట పోలీసువారు విమి చర్య తీసుకున్నారో మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“మీరు చెప్పేది అంత వేగంగా చెప్పితే నాకు అర్థంకాదు నేర్చుదాగా చెప్పితే నాకు అర్థం అవుతుంది.”

* SRI K. RAJAGOPALA RAO :—“ఇది నందిమాల గ్రామంలో జరిగినటువంటి విషయము. గన్నవరం తాలూకాలో మరొక పోలీసు కాంపు పెట్టారు. ఇప్పటికీ పడకొండుమందిని అరెస్టుచేశారు. కరీంజుమ్మా. ఈ రోజువరకూగూడా ప్రతి గ్రామంలోను హరిజనులను, రైతులను యింకా యితర ఆహార్యక ప్రజలను అరెస్టుచేసి నిర్బంధాలు చేస్తున్నారు. నా స్వతహాగా నేనుకొన్ని గ్రామాలలో జరిగే యీ క్రింద చెప్పిన విషయాలను దూచివచ్చి మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఆ గ్రామాలలో వ్యవసాయ కూలీలు వారికి రానున్న కూలీని జాస్తిగా ఇవ్వమని గ్రామాలలోని పెద్ద ఘాస్సాములు మొదలైన రైతాంగాన్ని వత్తిడిచేసారు. ఈ కూలీజనం వారియొక్క జీవనవ్యయ పరిమాణం పెరగడంవల్ల యీనాడు జాస్తికూలీ కోరుటవల్ల ఆ గ్రామములలోవున్న పెద్దపెద్ద ఘాస్సాములు అందరుచేరి కూలీ హెచ్చు ఇవ్వకూడదని నిశ్చయించినందువలన కూలీలు యావన్నీందీహూడా సమ్మతేశారు. ఇందువల్ల గ్రామ రైతులకు కూలీలకు తగాదాబడుట వలన పోలీసువారు interfere కావలసిన ఆవసరంవచ్చినది. ఆ గ్రామంలోని రైతులు కూలీలు అందరుచేరి సామరస్యంతోపరిష్కరించుకొనక పోవడమువల్ల పై అధికారులకు పీటిషనులమూలముగా తెలియపరచారు. నేనుగూడా వారికి పరిష్కారముచేసుకొనమని చెప్పగా ఉభయ పార్టీలు అంగీకరించారు. కాని Deputy Superintendent of Police, Deputy Collector వచ్చి ఆ గ్రామ ఘాస్సాములను, కూలీలను సమావేశపరచారు. ఆ సమావేశములో కూలీలు అడిగిన హెచ్చు వేతనములు ఆ గ్రామ ఘాస్సాములు ఇవ్వటానికి అంగీకరించలేదు. అందువల్ల విమైన ప్రమాదాలు, అశాంతి మొదలైనవి జరుగుతాయనేవంకపెట్టి, ఒక పోలీసు కాంపు పెట్టారు. నేను ఆ గ్రామ రైతులకు, కూలీ

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* JANAB C. AHMED KUTTY:—“മിസ്റ്റർ ഡെപ്യൂട്ടി സ്പീക്കർ, സാർ, ഇറാഖ് ധനാഭ്യർത്ഥനയെ അംഗീകരിക്കുകയോളം മലബാറിനെ വിഭജിക്കുക എന്നൊരു താല്പര്യമില്ല. പോലീസിന്റെ ചില വീട്ടുകാർ പറയുന്നത് ഞാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു. മലപ്പുറം വിവി ക്കുനിയെ പോലീസ് ഭരണം വളരെ കൃത്യത്തിലാണെന്നു പറയാതെ ഉൾപ്പെടാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. പൂർവ്വാട്ടരംഗത്തിൽ ഒന്നര രണ്ടു കൊലകേസുകൾ തന്നെ ഇതുവരെയായിട്ടും യാതൊരു തൂപ്പും കിട്ടാത്തതായാണു ഇരിക്കുന്നതെന്നു വ്യക്തനാക്കേണ്ടതു വെച്ചേങ്ങിനെ അറിയിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇത്തരത്തിലുള്ള കേസുകൾ ചില ഉത്തരവാകപ്പെട്ട ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരെ കലിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള വീട്ടുകാണെന്നു തെളിയിക്കുന്നതെന്നു നാട്ടിൽ പ്രബലമായി സംസാരമുണ്ട്. ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു ശരിയായ അന്വേഷണം നടത്തി ഇതിനെ ഉത്തരവാകപ്പെട്ട ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരെ ശിക്ഷിക്കേണ്ടതാണെന്നു ഗവണ്മെണ്ടിനെ ഉത്തരവാകപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു. ഇത്തരം കേസുകൾ തെളിവില്ലാതെ വരുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു നാട്ടിൽ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു വളരെ സമധാനക്ഷോഭം ഭയം ഉണ്ടാകുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു കാര്യം ഒരിക്കലും വിശ്വസിക്കുകയാണു്. വിശേഷിച്ചു ഇവ ഭാഗങ്ങളിൽ പോലീസിന്റെ പരാജയങ്ങളോളമല്ല പരാജയമാണെന്നു ശരിയായ നിലയിലല്ല എന്നു ഗവണ്മെണ്ടിനെ പരിശീലിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. പോലീസുകാർ ജനങ്ങളോടു വളരെ മര്യാദയിൽ പെരുമാറുവാൻ അവരെ ഉപദേശിക്കേണ്ടതാണെന്നു ഗവണ്മെണ്ടിനെ ഞാൻ അറിയിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. വല്ലവനാട്ടിൽ തന്നെ ഇറയിടെ ചില പോലീസുകാർ എന്തോ കാരണം പറഞ്ഞു, ശരിയായ കാരണം പറയാതെ ചിലരെ പിടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടുപോയി മട്ടിച്ചെയ്യും അതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ചില കൃത്യങ്ങൾ അവിടെ സൃഷ്ടിച്ചതായും ഇവിടെ ഞങ്ങളെ കമ്പിമൂലം അറിയിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതു അപ്രകാരംതന്നെ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ മേൽപ്പട്ടികയിൽ പെടുത്തുകയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഇത്തരം സംഗതികളിൽ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു ശരിയായ അന്വേഷണം നടത്താനും പോലീസുകാരോടു ജനങ്ങളുമായി നല്ല നിലയിൽ പെരുമാറുവാൻ ഉപദേശിക്കേണ്ടതാണെന്നു എന്നു അറിയിച്ചുകൊണ്ടും എനിക്കു സംസാരിക്കാൻ അവസരം നൽകിയിരുന്നെ ഡെപ്യൂട്ടി സ്പീക്കറോടു നന്ദി പറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടു വിരമിക്കുന്നു.”

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* SRI S. PAKKIRISWAMI PILLAI :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I take this opportunity to make a few observations regarding the Police Force in our country. The Police Force is as essential in our country as in other countries. Our Police Force has been trained to conduct itself in a disciplined way. The ordinary Policemen in our State are not given the treatment that is befitting the status of a trained Police Force. We know, Sir, that an ordinary Police Constable is paid a basic salary of Rs. 30 per month. Sir, statisticians have said that at least Rs. 85 is necessary for a family consisting of a husband, wife and two children. The sum of Rs. 48, that is Rs. 30, basic wage, and Rs. 18 dearness allowance, is hardly enough for a Police Constable to maintain himself and his family. I consider the salary paid to the Police Constable as ‘starvation wage’. As the Police Constable does not want to starve himself, and as he does not want that his family should starve, he has necessarily to have recourse to some other methods of earning his livelihood. In the present state of affairs, we cannot expect the Police Force to be above board. In England and other countries, an essential service like the Police Force, particularly the lower ranks in the Police Force, are paid a living wage that would enable them to live within that and not put them to the necessity of resorting to other methods of earning money. Such a system should also prevail in our country.

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“ Another thing, I want to point out, is that our Police Force is used mainly to safeguard the interests of the richer and capitalist class in our country. Let us take the case of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Limited. There is a police station inside the Mills, Sir, established with a view to help the maintenance of law and order, there. The location of the police station inside the Mills was sanctioned by the Ministry that was in power till recently, before the present Ministry took office. Taking advantage of the presence of the police station inside the Mills, the Mill Management try to increase the work-load of the workers, and if the latter protest against the increase of work-load they are being penalized. The Mill authorities also use the Police Force inside the Mills whenever concerted action is taken by the workers. If the Police Force are to be used by our Government in this manner, then woe unto our country! We want that the Police Force should remain neutral and should be used only for the purpose of preserving law and order in this country and not to side the capitalists as against the working classes in the State.”

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, ఈ పోలీసు డిమాండు మీద చర్చ సంభర్షణలలో మన రాష్ట్రంలోని ప్రస్తుత పోలీసు కమిషనారి విధానంపై K.L.P. యొక్క దృక్పథమేమో తెలియజేయుట కొరకై నేను యీ అవకాశాన్ని తీసుకొంటున్నాను.

“ పోలీసు శాఖలోని అధిక సంఖ్యాకాలలో నేను అసంపృప్తి ప్రకటిస్తోయినదని చాలా సందర్భాలలో పోలీసు ఉద్యోగులు అక్రమంగా ప్రవర్తించుచున్నారనే విషయములను ఎవరూ కాదని చెప్పుటకు అవకాశములేదని నా విశ్వాసము. ప్రభుత్వ శాఖ

[Sri G. Latchanna]

[17th July 1952]

లన్నిటిలాను పోలీసుశాఖ చాలా ప్రధానమైనదని పోలీసుశాఖయొక్క పటుత్వమునైన నే యావత్ పరిపాలనయొక్క పటుత్వము ఆధారపడియున్నదని అందరు ప్రకటిస్తూనే ఉంటారు. ఈ విషయమై ఎవ్వరికిని వేరు అభిప్రాయముండదు. ఇటువంటి పోలీసు శాఖను పటుత్వంచేనే విషయమై పలువురు గౌరవసభ్యులు పలు సలహాలు యిస్తున్నారు. వివిధ అభిప్రాయాలు వెల్లడిస్తున్నారు. ఈ సలహాలను ఆవరణలో పెట్టుటకుముందు ఒక్క ముఖ్య విషయాన్ని గుర్తించాలని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. రాష్ట్రంయొక్క శ్రేణుము, శాంతిభద్రతలు పోలీసుశాఖయొక్క పరిపాలనా సౌష్ఠ్యవంతైన ఆధారపడి ఉన్నాయి. ఇటువంటి ముఖ్య విధులను నిర్వహించవలసిన పోలీసుశాఖలో క్రమశిక్షణ, నైతికతపట్ల ఉండవలసిన అగత్యమింతైనా ఉన్నది. కాని ఈనాడు పోలీసుశాఖలో ఈ ముఖ్యగుణాలు ప్రశంసార్హమైనంతస్థాయిని లేవని చెప్పుటకు విచారించుచున్నాను. స్వాతంత్ర్యయం సిద్ధించి అయిదేళ్లు కావస్తున్నా పోలీసుశాఖలో యింకను చాతకాలపు విశ్వాసాలు, పద్ధతులు కొలగిపోవకపోవడం శోచనీయమైనటువంటి విషయం. దేశం పరదేశీయుల హస్తగతమై ఉన్నప్పుడు పోలీసువారి విధులకు, దేశం స్వాతంత్ర్యంపొంది ప్రజాస్వామ్య మార్గాన పురోభివృద్ధి చెందుచూ ఉన్నపుడు పోలీసువారు పాటించవలసిన విధులకు చాలా తేడా ఉంది. నూతన పరిస్థితులకు అనుగుణంగా పోలీసుశాఖ పున్ననిర్మాణం జరుపవలసియున్నది. ముఖ్యంగా పోలీసుశాఖలో ఆసంతృప్తి ఉండకూడదు. ఆసంతృప్తులైన సిబ్బందితో పోలీసుశాఖ నిండియున్నంతవరకు పరిపాలన సక్రమంగా కొనసాగదు. పోలీసు శాఖ లోనివారు సంతృప్తులై తమతమ బాధ్యతలను హృదయపూర్వకంగా నిర్వహించగలవారై ఉండవలెను. పరదేశీయుల పాలనకాలంబావర పోలీసులు ప్రజాసామాన్యాన్ని భయపెట్టి దమననీతి విధానాన్ని అనుసరించే యంత్రాంగంగా ఉండకూడదు. తాము ఒక ప్రజాసామ్యదేశంలో ప్రజాధిమతానుసారం వర్తించే ప్రజాస్వామిక ప్రభుత్వ ఆజ్ఞలను సంతోషంతో నిర్వహించే శాఖగా పోలీసుశాఖ రూపొందించబడాలి. ఇందుకుగాను పోలీసు సిబ్బంది క్రమశిక్షణ, నైతికతవ్యంగలవారై ఉండాలి.

“ఇక కొన్ని పార్టీలవారు సర్వకాల సర్వావస్థలా పోలీసులను తెగతిట్టడమే పనిగా పెట్టుకొన్నారు. పోలీసు దుండగములగురించి ఆతిగాపర్చించితప్పే ఈ పార్టీలవారు ముందుగా తాము ఆట్టి దుండగములను చేయకుండుట అవసరము. దౌర్జన్యం, హింస ముఖ్య ఆదర్శాలుగా భావించే పార్టీలవారు పోలీసులను దుండగులని దుయ్యబట్టడం హాస్యాస్పదమైనటువంటి విషయం.

“దుండగులను అణచివేయుటలో పోలీసులు శ్రద్ధవహించవలసినదనే విషయం నిర్వివాదాంశం. అయినప్పటికి దుండగులను శిక్షించే సందర్భంలో పోలీసువారు అప్రమత్తులై వర్తించాలని కోరుతున్నాను. ఏ సందర్భంలోనూ అమాయకులపై పోలీసులు దౌర్జన్యంచేయకూడదని, అది ప్రజాస్వామిక సూత్రాలకు విరుద్ధమని, ఆట్టి చర్యలవల్ల ప్రజాసామాన్యంలో ప్రభుత్వముపట్ల విశ్వాసభావం విర్రడుండునని పోలీసు శాఖ వారు గుర్తించగోరాలను. ఈ విషయంలో ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఎంత శ్రద్ధతోనుకుంటే అంతగా వారు ప్రజల విశ్వాసాన్ని మారగొనగలరని తెలియజేస్తున్నాను.

“ప్రస్తుతము పోలీసు సిబ్బందికి తరిగీదు ఇచ్చుచున్న విధానం పూర్తిగా మార్చివేయాలి. క్రమశిక్షణ, నైతిక సూత్రాలపట్ల విశ్వాసం, ఆధ్యాత్మిక జీవ్వాస వారిలో కల్పించేదిగా ఉండాలి. ఈ నూతన శిక్షణ విధానం అమలు జరిపినప్పుడే ఒక పోలీసు ఉద్యోగి తానుప్రభుత్వయంత్రంలోని ఒకభాగం మాత్రమే అని గాక, ప్రజాసామాన్యానికి చేదోడు వాదోడుగాఉండవలసిన అంగరక్షకుడనని భావించగలుగుతాడు. అనాడే శాంతి

[17th July 1952]

[Sri G. Latchanna]

భద్రతలను ఆతడు కాపాడగలిగినవాడౌతాడు. శాసనాలపై విశ్వాసం కలుగజేయాలంటే ఇట్టి తరిఫీదునే ఆతనికివ్వాలి. ఈ ముఖ్యవిషయాలను ప్రభుత్వంవారు గమనించవలసినదని విషయపూర్వకంగా వారిని ప్రార్థిస్తున్నాను. ఈ సూత్రాలకు తగ్గట్టుగా పోలీసు ట్రైనింగు విధానంలో మార్పులు తీసుకొని రావలసినదని కోరుచున్నాను. ఈ విషయమై వివిధ సలహాలు చేయదలచినాను. కాని వ్యవధి చాలదు కాబట్టి ఆ విషయం ప్రభుత్వంవారి దృష్టికి తెస్తున్నాను. ప్రజాస్వామిక సిద్ధాంతాలను అనుగుణంగా పోలీసు సిబ్బందికి తరిఫీదు ఇప్పించవలసినది, ఆ గౌరవం ప్రశ్నధమంగా మన మద్రాసు రాష్ట్ర ప్రభుత్వానికి దక్కవలసినది మరల ప్రభుత్వంవారికి తెలియజేస్తున్నాను. ఈ సందర్భంలో తగిన విధంగా పోలీసు శాఖ పునర్నిర్మాణం చేపారనికూడా ఆశిస్తున్నాను.

“పోలీసు శాఖలోని పై ఉద్యోగులు, క్రింది ఉద్యోగులకిచ్చే treatment ఈ నాడు చాలా అసంతృప్తికరంగా ఉన్నది. ప్రతి పై ఉద్యోగి తన క్రింద ఉద్యోగిని నీచభావంతో చూడడం పరిపాటి అయిపోయింది. పోలీసు శాఖలో ఏ ఉద్యోగి అయినప్పటికీ తాను వాళ్ళకంటే వ్యక్తమైనది, తన క్రింది ఉద్యోగికూడా గౌరవప్రధంగా తన విధులను నిర్వహించుకోవాలని గుర్తించాలి. ఈనాడు ఒక కానిస్టేబుల్ కు సబ్-ఇన్స్పెక్టర్, సబ్-ఇన్స్పెక్టరుకు సర్కిల్ ఇన్స్పెక్టర్, సర్కిల్ ఇన్స్పెక్టరుకు డి.వై.ఎస్.పి., డి.వై.ఎస్.పి. కి డి.ఎస్.పి. ఇదేవిధంగా క్రింది ఉద్యోగులకు పై ఉద్యోగులు దూపుచున్న గౌరవం సరిగా లేదు. ఈ విధానం మారాలి. ప్రతి అధికారి ఆతని క్రింది అధికారికూడా మానభద్రదేనని, ఆతనికి సంఘంలో గౌరవమున్నదని, ఆతనికికూడా కొంత హెచ్చాదా కలదని గుర్తించాలి. ఈ హృదయశుభ్రతనం పోలీసు శాఖలో కలుగునట్లు చేయాలి. అప్పుడే ఆ శాఖవారు ప్రజలపట్ల తమ విద్యుక్త ధర్మాలను సక్రమంగా నిర్వహించగలుగుతారు.

“పోలీసు సిబ్బందియొక్క జీతభత్యాలవిషయంలోకూడా మార్పులు చేయాలని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి తెలియజేస్తున్నాను ప్రస్తుతం ఇవ్వబడే జీతం, భత్యం సంతృప్తికరంగా లేదు. పోలీసు శాఖవారిపై ఉంచిన గురుతర వాళ్ళకులను గుర్తించుకొని వారికి వ్యవసరిన మూల్యం విషయంలో మార్పులుచేయవలసినదని కోరుచున్నాను. అసంతృప్తిపూర్వకముంది ఉద్యోగులకిచ్చే సంతృప్తిపూర్వకముంది రెట్టింపు పని చేయగలరని నా విశ్వాసం. పోలీసు సిబ్బందిని అసంతృప్తిలుగా ఉంచినట్లయితే ప్రజాస్వామ్యం జయప్రదం అవడం కష్టమని, విద్రోహశక్తులు పెరిగిపోవసినది, అట్టి దురదృష్టం ఈ రాష్ట్రానికి పట్టినవ్యవధిని నేను ప్రభుత్వంవారికి తెలియజేస్తున్నాను. ఈ విషయమై ఆశ్రద్ధ చేసినట్లయితే ప్రశ్నధమంగా భారత దేశంలో మన రాష్ట్రాన్ని అధివృద్ధి నిరోధకుల, అరాచక శక్తుల వారిచేయవలసిన వివత్కర పరిస్థితి సంభవించునని నేను ప్రభుత్వంవారిని హెచ్చరిస్తున్నాను. అందుకల్లానే పోలీసు శాఖలో నేడున్న అసంతృప్తిని వెంటనే తొలగించవలసినదని, వారికిచ్చే తరిఫీదు పద్ధతులలో సంపూర్ణమైన మార్పులు తీసుకొనిరావలసినది, పోలీసులు క్రమశిక్షణ, సత్ప్రవర్తన అలవరచుకొనేటట్లు చేయవలసినదని తిరిగి ప్రభుత్వంవారికి విజ్ఞప్తిచేస్తున్నాను. పోలీసు వారిలో ఈ గుణములు కనుపించినప్పటికీ ప్రజలు వారిని తమవారుగా గుర్తిస్తారు, విశ్వసిస్తారు. ఈ నాడు పోలీసును చూస్తే సామాన్య ప్రజలు భయపడుచున్నారు. కాని ప్రజాస్వామ్యం జయప్రదం కావాలంటే ప్రజలు పోలీసును తమ అంగరక్షకుడుగా భావించేటట్లు చేయాలి. ఇందుకు తగిన విధంగా పోలీసు training విధానాన్ని మార్పుచేయవలసిన అగత్యం, అవసరం ఉన్నదని తిరిగి హెచ్చరిస్తున్నాను. ఇందుకు తగిన చర్యలు తీసుకొంటారని ఆశిస్తున్నాను.

17th July 1952]

[Sri C. H. Kanaran]

രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ സ്ഥിതിയെ എടുത്തുനോക്കുക. ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു ജന്മിയേയൊ ഒരു മുതലാളിയേയൊ, ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ വേണ്ടത്ര ക്രമീകൊടുക്കാത്ത കരാററ മുതലാളിയേയൊ, കൃഷിക്കാരെ ദോഷിക്കുന്ന കരാററ ജന്മിയേയൊ പോലീസ് അറസ്റ്റ് ചെയ്യുന്നതിനായി കാണിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുമോ എന്നാണ് ചോദിക്കുവാനുള്ളത്. ഇന്ത്യാ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ഇൻകം ടാക്സ് (Income-tax) കൊടുക്കാതെ മറച്ചുവെച്ചിട്ടുള്ള കരാററ വലിയ മുതലാളിയെ എങ്കിലും ഈ രാജ്യത്തിൽ അറസ്റ്റ് ചെയ്യപ്പെട്ടിട്ടില്ല എന്നു മനസ്സിലാക്കണം. അധിക ക്രൂരി ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്ന തൊഴിലാളികൾ, പാട്ടും ചുരുക്കിപ്പിടിച്ചുവാനാവശ്യപ്പെടുന്ന കർഷകന്മാർ ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള മറ്റിത ജനങ്ങൾ അവരുടെ ശബ്ദം പുറപ്പെടുവിച്ചാൽ, തങ്ങളുടെ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ വകവെച്ചുതരണം എന്നു പറഞ്ഞാൽ, എന്തി പോലീസ്, അവരുടെ നായാട്ടു തുടങ്ങി. എന്തിനാണ് പോലീസ്? ഒരു കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് എം.എൽ.എ. പറയുകയുണ്ടായി എല്ലാവർക്കും വേണ്ടിയാണ്. ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു എവിടെയാണ് എല്ലാവർക്കും എന്നു. ജന്മിമാരെ രക്ഷിക്കുവാനും, കൃഷിക്കാരെയും തൊഴിലാളികളെയും ഇല്ലാപുകാരും അടിക്കുന്നതിനും. ഇന്നാണോ എല്ലാവർക്കും വേണ്ടി എന്നു പറയുന്നതിന്റെ അർത്ഥം. വടക്കെ മലബാറിലെ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് നേതാവായ സാമുവേൽ ആറോൺ, അയാളുടെ വീടു കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് നേതാക്കൾക്ക് അവിടെ വന്നാൽ അവർക്കു വിരുന്നുകഴിക്കുന്ന സ്ഥലമാണ്—അയാളുടെ ഹാളിയിലെ തൊഴിലാളികൾ എന്തെങ്കിലും ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടാൽ പോലീസ് സ്റ്റേഷനിൽ വിവരം കൊടുക്കുകയായി—പോലീസ് ഉടനെ വന്നു അവരെ മർദ്ദിക്കുകയായി. ഇങ്ങിനെ എത്രയോ തൊഴിലാളികളെ അടിച്ചിട്ടിട്ടില്ല എന്നാണ് ചോദിക്കുന്നത്. ഇങ്ങനെയും ആർക്കുവേണ്ടിയാണ്, സർ, പോലീസിനുവേണ്ടി ഇത്രയധികം പണച്ചെലവു ചെയ്യുന്നതിന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശം ഈ ഭരണ മേധാവികൾ ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ പൊതുജനങ്ങളെ ഭയന്നിട്ടാണ് എന്നു ചൂണ്ടിക്കാണിക്കുവാൻ അനൗഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു. സാധാരണക്കാരെ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ തല്പിതപ്പെടുത്താൻ, അവരുടെ അവകാശങ്ങൾ വകവെച്ചുതരാതെ ഇരിക്കുവാൻ, ഇതിനുവേണ്ടിയാണ് ഇത്രയധികം പോലീസ്. ഇതെന്തും കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് കാരനായതുകൊണ്ടു പറയുന്നതല്ല. നാട്ടിൽ എന്താണ് നടക്കുന്നത്? ഒരു കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് എം. എൽ. എ. ഇവിടെ പറയുകയുണ്ടായി, പട്ടാളങ്ങൾ ഒരു കൊലപ്രഭുക്കന്മാരുടെയും ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നെങ്കിൽ തെളിവും ഇല്ലാത്ത ഒരു ഭരണമാണ് ഇവിടെ നടക്കുന്നതെന്ന്. ഇതിന്റെ അർത്ഥം എന്താണ്? കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് കൾ ആകണമെന്നല്ല. മറ്റൊരാൾ ജീവിക്കുവാൻ, പോലീസിന്റെ മർദ്ദനങ്ങൾക്കു ജീവിക്കുവാൻ, ഈ ഭരണത്തിന്റെ കീഴിൽ സാധിക്കുമോ എന്ന ചോദ്യം ഈ നാട്ടിൽ വന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്. പട്ടാളങ്ങൾ 11 മണിക്ക കൊലപ്പെടുത്തിയോട്ടെല്ലാം തളിവില്ല എന്നു പറയുന്നതായാൽ എന്തിനാണ് പോലീസ്—ഈ ഭരണം എന്തിനുവേണ്ടിയാണ്—ഇത്ര അധികം ഉറപ്പിക ഈ പോലീസിനുവേണ്ടി ചിലവു ചെയ്യുന്നത്. ഒരു തെളിവു കാട്ടിത്തരാം. ഇതു കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് കാരനായതുകൊണ്ടു പറയുന്നതല്ല കോൺഗ്രസ്സിന്മാർ തന്നെ പറഞ്ഞതാണ്. മലബാറിലെ സബ് ഇൻസ്പെക്ടർ ഒരു എം. പി. മുഹമ്മദിനു വേണ്ടി നാലുപേരെ ഒരു കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റിന്റെ പേരിൽ അറസ്റ്റ് ചെയ്തു. അവരെ വീട്ടു കിട്ടണം എന്നു കോഴിക്കോടു മുനിസിപ്പാൽ കൺസ്റ്റബിളായ കൂട്ടംകുട്ടി മേനോൻ ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടു. വിട്ടുതരണമെങ്കിൽ എനിക്കു എത്ര തരം എന്നു കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് കൊൺസ്റ്റബിളായ കുട്ടിത്തന്നു മേനോനോടു ചോദിക്കുന്നു. ഇതു മുനിസിപ്പാൽ കൺസ്റ്റബിൾ ശ്രീമാൻ കുട്ടിത്തന്നു മേനോനും ഈ സഭയിലെ ഒരു മൈനറായ ശ്രീമാൻ ഗോപാലമണ്ണിയും കൂടി മലയാള മന്ത്രിയോടു സ.സാരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഇതു കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് കാരൻ കൊണ്ടുവന്നതല്ല. നേരെ മറിച്ചു കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് കൊൺസ്റ്റബിളാണ് കൊണ്ടുവന്നത്. ഇങ്ങിനെ പറ്റി മിസ്റ്റർ ഷാഫിയും ഗോപാലമണ്ണിയും അനേകം നേട്ടുകയുണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഈ ഭരണത്തിന് കീഴിൽ പോലീസ് ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെന്റിന്റെ ഓരോ വലിയുടെ ഭരണത്തിന് സാധിക്കുമോ എന്നാണ് ചോദിക്കാനുള്ളത്. എവിടെയാണ് ഓരോരുത്തർക്കും വേണ്ടി. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഇന്നത്തെ പോലീസിനെപ്പറ്റി പറയുമ്പോൾ നിങ്ങൾ വ്യക്തമായി മനസ്സിലാക്കണം, ഈ പോലീസിനെ ജനങ്ങളെ ഉപദ്രവിക്കുവാനുള്ള രൂപത്തിൽ ശരിപ്പെടുത്തിയെടുക്കണമെന്നായിരിക്കണം. ഏതെങ്കിലും സ്ഥലത്തു വല്ല കഴപ്പവും ഉണ്ടായാൽ പോലീസ് എന്തി, ആ സ്ഥലത്തുള്ള വീടുകൾ മുഴുവനും കയ്യേറിക്കൊള്ള നടത്തുന്ന പത്ത് വായിരത്തിന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. നാട്ടിനെ രക്ഷിക്കുവാനും നാട്ടുകാർ രക്ഷകൊടുക്കുകയാണ് ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശമെങ്കിൽ ഇതു വന്നില്ല ഒരു ചിലവു വേണ്ടതല്ല ആവശ്യമില്ല. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഏക കോടി ഉറപ്പികയെ പല ഇനങ്ങളും പരിശോധിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഇതിലും എത്രയോ അധികം ഉറപ്പിക ഗവണ്മെന്റു പോലീസിനുവേണ്ടി ചിലവാക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. എന്തിനു വേണ്ടി? ജനങ്ങളുടെ ആവശ്യം

[Sri C. H. Kanaran]

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അദ്ദേഹം വകുവെച്ചുകൊടുക്കാതിരിക്കാൻ, അയാൾ അടിച്ചമർത്താൻ വേണ്ടിയുള്ള ഒരു പോലീസ് ഭരണം ഏർപ്പാടുത്താനുണ്ടാകാൻ പാവപ്പെട്ടതോടൊത്തൊരു രക്ഷയുമില്ല എന്നാണ് ഈ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ട് കാണിക്കുന്നത്.”

* SRI T. N. VENKATASUBBA REDDI :—“ Sir, nobody can dispute that an efficient, honest and effective Police Force is necessary for every nation to enable its citizens to lead a peaceful life. It is argued by some hon. Members that the present expenditure of Rs. 7 crores on the Police as against the expenditure of Rs. 1½ crores in 1937-38 is exorbitant, that the Rs. 7 crores is asked for to run the administration on the basis of a Police State, and that the Police Force is being used to put down the legitimate activities of the people in getting redress for their grievances against the more well-to-do classes in the State. Every citizen has a right to fight for advantages within the limits set down by the law. But when any section of the people take the law into their own hands, it is the duty of the Police to enforce the law and advise the law-breakers to fight for their rights in civil courts or by some other constitutional means. I reiterate that an efficient, honest and effective Police Force is very necessary for us to develop our nation into a strong and healthy nation. I would say that an expenditure of Rs. 7 crores on a Police Force that is policing 6 crores of people in a State with an area of 60,000 square miles is not at all exorbitant. Going into further detail, I may say that each police station is policing about 200 square miles with a staff of 8 Constables and 1 Station-house Officer. I am sure no hon. Member will say that this is too much.

“ I would like to take this opportunity to point out certain defects as I see them so that the Government may rectify them and make the Police Force an efficient and effective Force. We have to recognize that the organization of the Police Force has been handed over to us by a foreign Government and not a Government of the people. That organization is meant for a certain type of administration. I submit that that type of administration is no longer necessary. We want the administration by the Police Force to be such as to make peaceful existence possible and prevent certain elements in the country from running riot and causing hardship to the people. It has become necessary for the Government to employ additional Police Force in certain parts of the country where strife is in an accentuated form after the attainment of freedom. That Force is even now retained. I submit that the Police Force, for whatever purposes they are used, should so conduct themselves as to engender the feeling that they are not antagonistic to the people, but that they are there to do good to the people. I submit that the present activities of the Police Force are against this principle.

“ This is a legacy from the Police Force of our past rulers. The elementary thing that I would request the Police Force to adopt is to be courteous and helpful; and they should get rid of their arrogance and a certain amount of *Bahadurism*, which is still prevalent among them. The methods of investigation of crimes from day to day are not modern enough nor are they efficient. If

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we go into the statistics of crimes, I am sure they will reveal that the percentage of crimes detected is rather poor. Even the detections made of certain crimes were of such a nature that the culprits were more responsible for the detection. I say this from the experience that I have. The Police are not taking enough trouble. I know if they take a little more trouble, they can investigate crimes more properly. I suggest that they should be efficient and take trouble in the investigation of crimes.

“Another point that I have to submit to our Chief Minister is that any complaint against the honesty or propriety of behaviour of the Police personnel should be investigated more rigorously than that against any other personnel of the Government, for this reason that it should be our endeavour to see that in course of time, the Police Force consists of the best human element in our country. I am sure that within the period of the present Chief Minister's regime, we will see that such a Police Force is created.

“With these suggestions, I submit to the House that the expenditure that is now asked for by the Government, if anything, is inadequate. I request the House to vote for the expenditure.”

* **SRI S. RADHAKRISHNAN:**—“கனம் உதவி சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, கத்தியின்றி ரத்தமின்றி சுதந்திரம் வாங்கிய அஹிம்சா மூர்த்திகள் நிறைந்த இந்த நாட்டிலே, அதிலும் அறிவானியான கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் தலைமை வகிக்கின்ற இந்த சென்னை ராஜ்யத்திலே, போலீஸ் நிர்வாகத்திற்காக ஏழு கோடி, பத்து லக்ஷம் ரூபாய்க்கு அதிகமாக மான்யம் கோரியிருப்பது மிகவும் வருந்தத்தக்க விஷயமாகும்.

“அதுமட்டுமல்ல. அந்தப் பக்கத்தில் வீற்றிருக்கும் வெற்றிலீரரான ஸ்ரீ ஆர். வி. சுவாமிநாதன் அவர்கள் இந்த ஏழு கோடி, பத்து லக்ஷம் ரூபாய் போதாது, இன்னும் அதிகப்படியாக போலீஸ் வீரர்கள் வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டிருப்பது மிக மிக வருந்தத்தக்க விஷயமாகும். இந்த நாட்டினுடைய நிலைமை என்னவென்பதை யோசிக்கவேண்டும்.

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN:—“கனம் நண்பர் அவர்கள் குறிப்பிடுகிற மாதிரி நான் சொல்லவில்லை. நான் சொல்லியதென்னவென்றால், “இருக்கிற போலீஸை குறைக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொன்னார்கள். அதை குறைக்கக் கூடாது. இருக்கிற போலீஸை வைத்துக்கொண்டே நல்லபடியாக, இன்னும் திறமையாக வேலை வாங்கவேண்டும்” என்றுதான் சொன்னேன். போலீஸ் படை யை அதிகமாக்கவேண்டுமென்று நான் சொல்லவில்லை.

* **SRI S. RADHAKRISHNAN:**—“எப்படியிருந்தபோதிலும், ஏழு கோடி, பத்து லக்ஷம் ரூபாய் போலீசுக்காக செலவு செய்வது மிகவும் அதிகமான தொகை என்று நாங்கள் கருதுகின்றோம். இந்த நாட்டின் இன்றைய நிலைமை என்னவென்று யோசிக்கவேண்டும். நாடு இருக்கும் நிலையில் இந்த அதிகமான செலவு அவசியமா என்று பார்த்தால், உண்மையிலேயே இந்தத் தொகை மிகவும் அதிகமென்றுதான் சொல்லவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. ஏழை மக்களின் சார்பாக இங்கு வந்துள்ள அத்தனை அங்கத்தினர்களும் நெஞ்சில் கையை வைத்துப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். அப்படிப் பார்த்துத்தான் இதில் ஒரு முடிவுக்கு வரவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“இதற்குமுன் இருந்ததைப்போலில்லாமல், இந்த நாட்டினுடைய அரசாங்கம் இப்பொழுது உண்மையிலேயே அஹிம்சாமூர்த்திகளின் கையில் இருக்கிறதென்று சந்தோஷப்படுகிறோம் என்று பலர் கூறுகிறார்கள். கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் உண்மையிலேயே காந்திய தத்துவத்தில் நம்பிக்கையுடையவர் என்றும் மேலும் நிர்வாகத் திறமையுள்ளவர் என்றும் கூறப்படுகிறார்கள்; உண்மையில் அவரைச் சிறந்த அரசியல்வாதி என்றும் சொல்லுகிறார்கள்; அப்படி யிருக்கும்போது இந்த நாட்டின் நிலவரம்

[Sri S. Radhakrishnan]

[17th July 1952]

அவருக்கு நன்றாகத் தெரிந்திருக்கும். இப்பொழுது இந்த ராஜ்யத்தில் குடிக்கக்கூட தண்ணீர் இல்லாமல் மக்கள் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். பஞ்சம் பஞ்சம் என்ற கூக்குரல் அனேக இடங்களிலிருந்து வருகின்றது. பல துறைகளில் ஜனங்களையு முன்னேற்றத்திற்காகவும், நன்மைக்காகவும் செய்ய வேண்டிய காரியங்களுக்கு பணம் இல்லை, பணம் இல்லையென்று எதற்கெடுத்தாலும் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. அப்படியிருக்கும்போது, போலீஸ் இலாகாவுக்கு மட்டும் 7 கோடி ரூபாய்க்குமேல் தேவைதானா? என்று நாங்கள் கேட்கின்றோம். இதற்குமுன் இருந்த அரசாங்கம் செய்ததைவிட, கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் வந்தபிறகு போலீஸ் இலாகாவில் நிர்வாகத் திறமை அதிகரித்திருக்கிறதா என்பது சந்தேகமாகத்தான் இருக்கிறது. 'Unpopular Government' என்று சொல்லப்படுவதைப்போல் இதற்கு முன்னால் இருந்த அரசாங்கம் unpopular Government-ஆகவே இருந்திருக்கலாம். இதற்கு முன்னால் கனம் குமாரசாமி ராஜா, கனம் பிரகாசம் காரு முதலியவர்களைப் பிரதமராக்கக்கொண்ட மந்திரி சபைகளின் அரசாட்சி இருந்திருக்கின்றது. அப்பொழுது கூட போலீசுக்காக அதிகமாகத்தான் அவர்களும் செலவுசெய்து வந்தார்கள் என்று சொல்லலாம். ஆனால், அப்பொழுதிருந்த நிலைமை என்ன? இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் நிலைமை என்ன? தெலிங்காணாவில் கம்யூனிஸ்டு தொந்தரவுகள் இருந்தன. மலபாரில் கூட கம்யூனிஸ்டு தொந்தரவுகள் இருந்தன. தஞ்சையில் சிசான் தகராறுகள் இருந்தன. அது மட்டுமல்ல, உண்மையிலேயே திராவிடக் கட்சித்தாரும் சேர்ந்துக்கொண்டு அரசாங்கத்திற்கெதிராக பெரிய புரட்சி செய்துவந்தார்கள். அப்படிப்பட்ட நிலைமை இருந்த காலத்திலேயே 7 கோடி ரூபாய்கள் செலவழித்திருந்தார்களென்றால், இப்பொழுது இந்த நாட்டில் பஞ்சம் இருக்கின்ற நேரத்தில், கம்யூனிஸ்டு தொந்தரவு அடக்கிவிட்ட நேரத்தில், உண்மையிலேயே இவ்வளவு பணம் போலீசுக்காகச் செலவு செய்யப்படவேண்டுமா என்பதை யோசிக்கவேண்டும். அறிவாளியான கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் போலீசுக்காக 7 கோடி ரூபாய் செலவு செய்வது நியாயமா என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன்? அவர் கேட்டிருப்பது உண்மையிலேயே கண்டிக்கத்தக்க விஷயமாகும்.

“போலீஸ் நிர்வாகமானது இன்று மிகவும் வெறுக்கத்தக்க முறையில் நடந்துவருகின்றது. இந்த நாட்டில் எத்தனை பெரிய தலைவர் வந்தாலும் சரி, யோக்கியமான மந்திரிகள் வந்தாலும் சரி, போலீஸ் இலாகாவை சீர்திருத்தவேண்டுமென்றால் அது முடியாது. போலீஸ் இலாகாவுக்கே உரித்தான, பரம்பரைச் சொத்தான, லஞ்சம், ஊழல், அக்கிரமம், அநியாயம், அநீதி, இவற்றையெல்லாம் யாராலும் ஒழிக்கமுடியாது என்று கருதுகிறோம். உண்மையிலேயே, எங்கள் தென்றற்காடு ஜில்லாவில் நடக்கும் அக்கிரமங்களுக்கு நான் எத்தனையோ உதாரணங்கள் கூறமுடியும். லஞ்சம் போலீஸ் இலாகாவுக்கே உரியது. லஞ்சம் நேராக வாங்குகிறார்கள். லஞ்சம் கொடுப்பவர்களெல்லாம் பணக்காரர்கள். லஞ்சம் வாங்குவதை யாராலும் கண்டுபிடிக்கமுடியாத வகையில் அவர்கள் நடந்துகொள்ளுகிறார்கள். போலீஸ் இலாகாவில் லஞ்சம் ஊழல் மயமாக இருக்கிறது. அதை யாரும் தடுக்கமுடியாது.”

“ஏதாவது ஒரு மனுவைப் போலீசுக்குக் கொடுத்துவிட்டால், அந்த போலீஸ் காரர்களுக்கு இவ்வளவு ரூபாய் தரவேண்டுமென்ற ஒரு நியதி இருக்கிறது. போலீஸ் காண்டிலிபிள்கள் மட்டுமல்லாமல், ஹெட் காண்டிலிபிள்கள், போலீஸ் சப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் எல்லாருக்கும் பங்கு உண்டு. இந்த லஞ்சத்தின் மூலஸ்தானம் மந்திரிசபை அளவுக்குக்கூட வந்துவிடுமோ என்று தோன்றுகிறது. சாதாரணமாக ஒரு காண்டிலிபிள அணுகி, ‘என்பா லஞ்சம் வாங்குகியி?’ என்று கேட்கும்போது, அவன் என்ன சொல்லுகிறானென்றால், ‘நான் 4 அணு, 5 அணு வாங்கினால், அதை லஞ்சம் என்கிறீர்கள்; பெரிய பெரிய அதிகாரிகளும், மந்திரிகளும் லக்ஷக்கணக்காகவாங்குகிறார்களே! போலீஸ்காரர்களாகிய எங்கள் வயிற்றிலே ஏன் அடிக்கிறீர்கள்?’ என்று கேட்கிறான். இது மிகவும் வருந்தத்தக்க விஷயம். உண்மையாக போலீஸ்காரர்களுக்கு கிடைக்கின்ற வருவாய் போதாது. அவன் குடும்பத்தைக் காப்பாற்ற அவனுக்குக் கிடைக்கும் வருவாய் போதாமலிருப்பதால் இம்மாதிரி லஞ்சம் வாங்குகிறான். ஆகையால், இந்த நாட்டில் லஞ்சம் அதிகரித்திருக்கிறது.”

17th July 1952]

[Sri S. Radhakrishnan]

“போலீஸ்காரர்கள் லஞ்சம் வாங்குவதோடு மட்டுமல்லாமல், அக்கிரமமான செயல்களையும், அநியாயமான காரியங்களையும் செய்கிறார்கள். நெல்லிக்குப்பம் ஆலையில் மஜீத் என்பவன் வேலை செய்துவிட்டுத் திரும்பும்போது, வழியில், காங்கிரஸ் தியாகி என்று சொல்லிக்கொள்பவரின் (அவரும் 4, 5 ஏக்கர் நிலம் வாங்கியிருக்கிறார்) சொந்தக்காரர் (அவரும் 4, 5 ஏக்கர் நிலம் வாங்கிய தியாகிதான்) அந்த மஜீத் என்பவனைக் கத்தியால் அடிவயிற்றில் குத்தி, அவனது குடில் தெருவிலே சரிந்து கிடக்க, ரத்தம் ஆறாக ஓட, பிணமாகக் கிடத்திவிட்டான். போலீஸிடம் புகார் செய்தபோது, போலீஸ் சப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் மிகவும் சாவகாசமாக சிரித்துக் கொண்டு சொல்லுகிறார், ‘குத்திவிட்டு எங்கேயாவது ஒடிப்போயிருக்கக் கூடாதா?’ என்று. இவ்விதமான அக்கிரமங்கள் ஆயிரக்கணக்காக நடக்கிறதென்றால், இந்த நாட்டில் எதற்காக போலீஸ் வைத்திருக்கிறோம் என்று தெரியவில்லை. எந்தக் காரணத்திற்காகப் போலீஸ் இருக்கவேண்டுமோ அதற்கு மாறாக போலீஸ்காரர்கள் இன்று நடந்துவருகிறார்கள். ஜனங்களுடைய நன்மைக்கு விரோதமாக நடந்துவரும் போலீஸ்க்காக இவ்வளவு பெரிய தொகை இன்று மான்யமாகக் கோரப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இது மிகவும் கண்டிக்கத்தக்க விஷயம். கொலைக் கேசை மாஜிஸ்ட்ரேட் முன்னால் கொண்டுபோனதில், கேஸ் ரகசியமாகவில்லை. மஜீத் இறந்தபோது மரண வாக்குமூலம் கொடுக்கவில்லையென்று போலீஸ் காரர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். போலீஸ்காரர்கள் அந்தந்த ஊரிலே யுள்ள பணக்காரர்கள், பெரிய உத்தியோகங்கள் பார்ப்பவர்கள் இவர்களுடைய ஆதரவையும் தயவையும் நாடி நடந்துகொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த விதமாக இருக்கும் போலீஸ்காரர்களை எந்தவிதத்தில் மாற்றமுடியுமென்று கேட்கிறேன்? எந்த நடவடிக்கை எடுத்தாலும் அந்த அக்கிரமங்களை நீங்கள் மாற்றமுடியாது. உண்மையிலே அவர்கள் அந்தவிதமான அக்கிரமங்களைச் செல்வதற்கு வழி சண்டிப்பிடித்து வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள், இன்றல்ல நேற்றல்ல, நூற்றுக்கணக்கான ஆண்டுகளாக, வெள்ளையர்கள் இருந்தகாலத்திலிருந்தே அவர்களுடைய ரத்தத்திலேயே அது ஊறியிருக்கிறது.

“சென்னப்பநாயக்கன்பட்டணத்தில் மக்களுக்கு உணவு கிடைக்கவில்லை, நெசவாளிகளுக்கு நூல் கிடைக்கவில்லையென்று கேட்போது, ஏற்கனவே சட்டசபையில் அங்கத்தினராக இருந்த ஸ்ரீ தேவநாயக்யர் அவர்களுடைய உக்லியின்பேரில் போலீஸ் படைகள் சென்று செய்த அப்டேரியம் சொல்லிமுடியாது. இளம் பெண்கள் தெருவிலே டிரெத்து துணிபுறுத்தப் பட்டார்கள், துணியை அல்லகோலமாகப் பிடுங்கிப்பட்டார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு இமைத்து துன்பம் சொல்லிமுடியாது. எதற்காக இதைச் சொல்லுகிறேனென்றால், போலீஸ்காரர்கள் தங்கள் ஊரிலுள்ள அதிகாரிகளைக் கொண்டு, பணக்காரர்களைக்கொண்டே, இந்தவிதமான அக்கிரமங்களைச் செய்துவருகிறார்கள் என்பதற்காகத்தான் கூறுகிறேன்.

“நாங்கள் எதிர்க்கட்சியில் இருப்பதால்தான், இந்த போலீஸ் இலாகா மான்யத்தை எதிர்க்கிறோம் என்று கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் சொல்லிவிட்டாம். எதிர்க்கட்சிக்காரர்கள் அரசாங்கத்திற்கு வந்தாலும், ஏன்றும் செய்துவிடுமுடியாது என்றுகூட சொல்லலாம், அல்லது அந்தப்பக்கத்தில் வீற்றிருப்பவர்கள் கூறுவதுபோல் எதிர்க்கட்சிக்காரர்களாகிய நாங்கள் ஆட்சிக்கு வந்தால் போலீஸ்காரரே இல்லாமல் ஆட்சி நடத்துவோமென்று சொல்லவில்லை. இந்த நெருக்கடியான காலத்தில் செலவைக் குறைக்க வேண்டுமென்றுதான் சொல்லுகிறோம். நீர்ப்பாசனத்திற்குப் பணம் வேண்டுமென்றால் பணம் இல்லையென்று சொல்லப்படுகிறது. பஞ்ச நிவாரணத்திற்குப் பணம் வேண்டுமென்றால், பணம் இல்லை. குடிதண்ணீர் வேண்டுமென்றால், கிணறுகள் வெட்டுவதற்குப் பணம் போதவில்லை. இப்படிப்பட்ட நிலைமையில் இந்த நாடு இருக்கும்போது, 60 கோடி ரூபாய் வருமானத்தில், அதிலே சுமார் எட்டிலொரு பங்கை, அதாவது 7 கோடிக்கு அதிகமான தொகையை போலீசுக்குமட்டும் எதற்காகச் செலவிட வேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்கிறேன்.

“இந்தப் போலீஸ் இலாகா எதற்காக வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறதென்றால், உண்மையிலேயே காங்கிரஸ் அரசாங்கம் நல்லபடியாக நாட்டில்

[Sri S. Radhakrishnan] [17th July 1952]

நிலைத்திருப்பதற்கு பக்கபலமாகத்தான் வைத்திருக்கிறார்களென்று சொல்லவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. ஜனங்களுடைய நன்மைக்காக அல்ல. ஜனங்களுடைய நன்மைக்காகத்தான் போலீஸ் இருக்கவேண்டுமே தவிர, வேறு எதற்காக இந்தப் போலீஸ் இருக்கவேண்டுமென்று எனக்குத் தெரியவில்லை. இந்தக் காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார் நிலைத்திருக்கவேண்டுமென்பதற்காகத்தான் போலீஸ் இன்றைய தினம் இருக்கிறது என்று ஜனங்கள் நம்புகிறார்கள். அம்மாதிரி ஒரு எண்ணம் ஜனங்களிடத்தில் உண்டாகும்படி போலீஸ்காரர்கள் நடந்துகொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். ஆகையால், உண்மையாக ஜனங்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்யவேண்டுமென்றால், இந்த மானயத்தைக் குறைக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுமேற்போன்.

* SRI V. K. RAMASWAMY MUDALIYAR :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this Demand. My hon. Friend Mr. Swaminathan spoke about the need for efficiency in this department. I wholeheartedly agree with him. That is no doubt essential, but to improve the efficiency I venture to suggest something. First of all, Policemen should be provided with quarters. Many of them have not got any quarters now. If they do not live together, their morale will not improve. I also know that there is a kind of dissatisfaction amongst those who have not been provided with quarters. Secondly, we must provide them with ample transport facilities, especially for the investigation staff. Mobility is essential. By facilities, I mean jeeps and vans should be supplied in larger numbers. Radio and telephone also should be given in large numbers, and these must be fitted up in these vans. I have seen in some advanced countries how quickly the police go about in these radio-fitted and telephone fitted vans and investigate cases with success.

“ Another thing I would suggest is this. Ample amount should be provided for opening some laboratories, as scientific aid is the best means of improving efficiency. We have no such laboratories here in India at present though in England there are as many as seven laboratories. If we have a laboratory, it will go a long way in detecting and analysing human blood which will help a great deal in investigating these things.

“ Recently, we have seen how the Police Department were able to detect the culprits of some of the hold-ups with the help of Alsatian dogs got from England. I shall suggest that this kind of best trained dogs should be kept in every district headquarters with a view to detect crimes speedily. I understand even in Ceylon they have made some provision for this in the Budget this year.

“ Again, there is a sort of discontent in the Police Department because of the cut in the travelling allowance in the same way as it has been done with regard to every other Department. According to this, no officer can go beyond 40 miles in one day. In other words, his travelling allowance is cut by more than 50 per cent. If that rule is rigidly enforced in the Police Department, I do not think there will be much incentive on the part of the Police people to go about vigorously for investigating crimes.

“ So far as the Constabulary are concerned, their pay should be enhanced considerably, because there is a lot of difference between the Constabulary and other non-gazetted services. Unless the pay of the Constabulary is increased considerably, there will

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not be any contentment in the Department. These are my few suggestions and I hope the Hon. the Chief Minister will implement all of them, with a view to improve the efficiency of the Department. With these few words, I support the Demand."

* SRI M. HANUMANTHA RAO :—" Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the cut motion of my hon. Friend Sri P. Ramamurthi. In supporting it, I wish to say a few words by way of explanation. The United Democratic Front to which my Party and I belong stands for a certain cut in the Police Demand. In its programme, the United Democratic Front is committed to a drastic cut in the present expenditure on Police. But after going through the Budget proposal before us, I do not find any such cut having been made. Of course, there is a cut of Rs. 40 lakhs from last year's expenditure. But I have my own apprehension that this cut may not be effected at all because in the year 1950-51 the Budget estimate on Police Demand was exceeded by Rs. 38 lakhs, and again in the year 1951-52 the Budget estimate was exceeded by Rs. 50 lakhs. Though this year there is nominally a cut in expenditure, I do not think it would be seriously effected. So, Sir, the increase in the expenditure on Police has been effected at the expense of certain irrigation works. For instance, if we go through the Budget Memorandum, we shall find that it is clearly shown there that in the year 1950-51 while the expenditure on Police increased by Rs. 38 lakhs, the expenditure on Agriculture went down by Rs. 1.36 lakhs. So also there was a decrease in the expenditure on Agriculture in the year 1951-52. Like that the expenditure on these Public Works was going down while the expenditure on Police was increasing. That is why I think my apprehension will be justified. So, I oppose the Demand put forward by the Treasury Benches.

" Whenever we speak of a cut in the Demand especially for Police, the bogey of chaos is raised by the Hon. the Chief Minister. He has set the ball rolling by saying that the Opposition stands for chaos and his Lieutenant, the Hon. the Finance Minister, justified it the other day by saying that the Communist ideology meant chaos. Again the other day speaking elsewhere, the Hon. the Chief Minister said that he required a longer time to judge the habit of Communists and to see that the Communists settled down to orderliness and peaceful working of the Constitution. I submit, Sir, that this is a fallacy and I completely reject it. We are not going to accept it. Why do I say this? Sir, in order to judge anybody, one has to take experience into consideration. Here I allege that in the past five years in the name of Ram Rajya and Ahimsa Rajya, inhuman atrocities were committed on the people of Andhra especially in the Central districts from where I come, and I allege that the Congress was responsible for this chaos. There was, in fact, no law at all. There was lawless law. People were sniped and they were spirited away from sub-jails and Police camps and shot in forests. Of course, I know many hon. Members from the Treasury Benches do not accept this. That is why I suggest that an impartial, non-official public enquiry into the question should be instituted. I submit this is the most urgent task.

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If the Hon. Ministers go on branding a certain Party that it stands for chaos and disorderliness, I request them to prove it in practice. We must judge it on the basis of experience. Otherwise, how can we arrive at a conclusion? All of us, I think, can be united so far as this demand for a public enquiry is concerned. Unless that enquiry is made, the truth cannot be brought out. Having this enquiry committee in view, I request the House to support the cut motion.

“ Taking the past five years’ experience, I ask : Who created chaos? I have already said that the Congress Party in power was responsible for it. But on the other side, it is said that the Communists were responsible for it. Sir, I take you back to the year 1948. We were then supporting the National Government headed by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. In those days what happened? Gandhiji was brutally murdered. Everybody knows plainly who murdered Gandhiji. But was the attack directed against the murderers of Gandhiji? No, Sir. The attack was directed against the Communists and especially the Communists of Andhra. The attack was against our Press. Our Press was gagged and destroyed. Hundreds of people were arrested because it was alleged that they were involved in that case. Of course, the Judge had to acquit them. Thus a Party which was working on peaceful methods was not allowed to be peaceful. It was done because the Government were following in the footsteps of the British Imperialists. They were working in the same colonial set-up. The economic distress of the people was on the increase. The Congress people were not able to face that situation. In peaceful competition they were not able to get good dividends.

“ I may here recall the municipal elections of Vijayavada and Rajahmundry. In those elections we could get 10 seats in Vijayavada and 10 seats in Rajahmundry. This the Congress could not tolerate. That is why I say the Communist Party was not allowed to work peacefully. The Government started torturing, terrorising and murdering people. Nearly 300 people were murdered. People were not allowed to cultivate their lands. They were not allowed to live in their houses. They were driven from pillar to post. They were tortured till they resigned from the Communist Party. All these things happened. Then, this Government was in league with the present K.L.P. Leaders who had been talking so loud about Communist atrocities. I do not blame all the gentlemen who are sitting here on the K.L.P. Benches because they are far away from the Central districts. But what happened in Krishna and Guntur districts? In the name of Seva Dal and Home guards, in league with the Government Police, they attacked peaceful villagers and murdered even some persons who came out on bail from the jail. People were murdered in Movva, Amudala Lanka and in Repalle taluk. Professor Ranga and his followers were not satisfied with the Police Raj. That is why they demanded that the military should be sent to these districts and that martial law should be declared. But the Ministers who administered that lawless law were defeated so thoroughly in these central districts. Three Ministers were

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defeated. Again the K.L.P. Leader who is talking so loud about Communist atrocities was defeated. People knew how to judge these leaders. They treated these leaders with the contempt they deserved. That is why not even a single K.L.P. candidate was elected in the central districts. Most of them lost their deposits. Professor Ranga, the so-called well-known leader, probably their world leader, was defeated thoroughly in his own constituency. This is the reality. That is why I appeal to hon. Members to support the cut motion.

"The hon. Gentleman Sri Thimma Reddi was saying that the Communists pulled out somebody's eyes. It is all absurd. I request the Hon. Speaker to ask him to produce that so-called man whose eyes were pulled out. His eyes are as good as anybody's eyes here. All these things happened under the Congress regime. People know who is who and what is what. Such atrocities have been going on in the country in the past without any check. So, I request hon. Members of this House, to whichever party they may belong, either the Congress Party or any other party, to vote for this cut motion if they want truth to come out and get exposed in this State."

4-45
p.m.

* SRI T. GANAPATHI :—“கனம் டிபுட்டி சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே. நான் இந்த போலீஸ் மான்யத்தை ஆதரிக்கிறேன். இந்தப் போலீஸ் மான்யத்திற்கு ஒதுக்கப்பட்ட தொகை போதாது என்பது தான் என்னுடைய அபிப்பிராயம். ஏனென்றால் போலீஸ் டிபார்்ட்மெண்டு சம்பந்தமாக, இன்னும் பதிது பதிதாக அவுட் போஸ்டுகளையும், போலீஸ் ஸ்டேஷன்களையும் வைக்க வேண்டுமென்று சர்க்காருக்கு எத்தனையோ இடங்களிலிருந்து தாக்கீத்கள் வந்து கொண்டிருக்கின்றன. ஆனால் சர்க்கார் ஏதோ காரணத்தால் இப்பொழுது புது போலீஸ் ஸ்டேஷன்களையும் அவுட் போஸ்டுகளையும் வைக்க முடியாது என்று சால்ஜாப்பு கொல்லிக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். இப்பொழுது ஒவ்வொரு போலீஸ் ஸ்டேஷனும் 12, 20 மைல்கள் வரையில் சுற்றளவுள்ளதாக இருக்கின்றன. இது போதாது. ஆகையால் உடனடியாக போலீஸ் ஸ்டேஷன்களை அதிகப் படுத்த ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டும். இன்னும் அதிகப்படியான அவுட் போஸ்டுகளையும் ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டும் என்று நமது சர்க்காரைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“ஒரு விஷயத்தைப் பற்றி கனம் நண்பர் சுவாமிநாதன் நன்றாக எடுத்து ஆராய்ந்தார்கள். ஆக்டிவ் சப் இன்ஸ்பெக்டர்களாக இருந்தவர்களை பல இடங்களில் இப்பொழுது ஹெட் கான்ஸ்டபிள்களாகப் போட்டிருக்கின்றார்கள். ஆனால் இது ஒரு பெரிய பிரச்சனை. ஏனென்றால் பத்து வருஷங்களாக ஆக்டிவ் சப் இன்ஸ்பெக்டராக இருந்துவிட்டு அவர்களையே சரிகை தொப்பியையும் இழந்திருக்கும்போது அவன் வீட்டிற்குப் போகும்போது அவனுடைய மனைவி இந்த ஹெட் கான்ஸ்டபிள்களை மறு டியூட்டி எப்பொழுது சப் இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் உடையில் பார்க்கப்போகிறோம் என்று ஆவலுடன் காத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் அவ்விதம் இப்பொழுது நடப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. இவ்விதம் நடவடிகவிருப்பதற்கு சர்க்காரில் எங்கேயோ ஒரு கோஷாறு இருக்கிறது. ஹெட் கான்ஸ்டபிளிலிருந்து 30 சதவிகிதமுள்ளவர்களை சப் இன்ஸ்பெக்டராகப் ப்ரமோஷன் செய்யும்படியாக வைத்திருக்கிறோம் என்று கனம் ராஜாஜி சொன்னார்கள். ஆனால் அப்படியே சுவத்துக் கொள்வோம். இப்பொழுது பத்து வருஷம் வரையில் ஆக்டிவ் சப் இன்ஸ்பெக்டராக இருக்கும்படி நியமித்தது சர்க்காரின் குற்றமாக இல்லையா என்பதை எடுத்துக்காட்ட விரும்புகிறேன். இவ்விதம் ஹெட் கான்ஸ்டபிள்களாகத் திருப்பி நியமிக்கப்பட்டவர்களின் நடவடிக்கை எப்படி இருக்கிறது என்பதை சர்க்கார் பரிசீலனைக்கு எடுத்துக் கொள்ள வேண்டும். ஒவ்வொரு ஹெட் கான்ஸ்டபிளும் ஆக்டிவ்

[Sri T. Ganapathi]

[17th July 1952]

சப் இன்ஸ்பெக்டராக இருந்தால் அவர்கள் மறுபடியும் ஹெட் கான்ஸ்டபிளாக இருக்கும்போது அவர்களுடைய தொழில் முறையை சரியானபடி செய்ய முடியவில்லை. அவர்களுக்கு ஒரு மனக்கசப்பும் ஒரு வெறுப்பும் ஏற்படுகிறது. அந்தஸ்து உயர்ந்திருந்து இப்பொழுது கேவலமான நிலைக்கு வந்ததால் அவர்கள் மக்களிடம் சரி சமமாக வாழக்கூட முடியாமலிருக்கிறது. மன வெறுப்பும் ஏற்படுகிறது. அவர்கள் ஒவ்வொருவரும் திறமை சாலிகளாக இருக்கின்றார்கள். அவ்விதம் திறமைசாலிகளாக இருப்பவர்களை சப் இன்ஸ்பெக்டர்களாக நியமிக்காவிட்டால் நிர்வாகம் எப்படி நடக்கும்? எப்படி நன்றாக நடக்க முடியும்? இந்த நிலை ஆக்டிவ் பரீக்காத ஹெட் கான்ஸ்டபிளையும் பராமுகமான நிலைக்கு கொண்டு விரும். ஆகவே இரண்டு வருஷங்களுக்கு மேலாக ஆக்டிவ் வேலை பார்த்த அவ்வளவு பைந்தக்கும் உடனடியாக புது போலீஸ் ஸ்டேஷன்களைத் திறந்து அவர்களுக்கு சப் இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் வேலை கொடுத்து அவர்களை வாழ வைக்கவேண்டும். அவர்கள் ஹெட்கான்ஸ்டபிள்களாக இருந்த போது அவர்களுடைய ரிகார்டுகளை எடுத்து ஹெட்கான்ஸ்டபிள்களாக நியமித்தவர்களுக்கு ப்ரமோஷன் கொடுத்து உதவ வேண்டும். இதில் சர்க்கார் பராமுகமாக இருக்கக் கூடாது. அவ்விதம் பராமுகமாக இருந்தால் அதனால் உடனடியாக நிர்வாகம் பாதிக்கப்படும் இந்த முக்கியமான பிரச்சனையில் சர்க்கார் உடனடியாக கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டுமென்பதற்காக அவர்களுடைய கவனத்திற்கு இதைக் கொண்டு வருகிறேன். ஆக்டிவ் சப் இன்ஸ்பெக்டராக இருந்து பிறகு ஹெட்கான்ஸ்டபிள்களாக போயிருப்பவர்களை நல்ல மாதிரியாக நடத்தி அவர்களை வாழ வைக்க வேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இங்கு எங்கு பார்த்தாலும் கேஸ்களை உடனடியாகக் கொடுத்து விடுகிறார்கள். போலீஸாருக்கு ஏராளமான ஜப்பாய் கொடுத்து அவர்களுடன் ஏதாவது ஒத்துழைத்தால்தான் எங்கேயாவது போலீஸ்காரர் அந்த குற்றத்தை கண்டு பிடிக்க முடிகிறது. இதில் எங்கேயோ ஒரு கோளாறு இருக்கிறது. இந்தக் குற்றையை கண்டிப்பாக தீர்த்து வைத்தால் மக்களுக்கு யாதொரு இடைஞ்சலும் இல்லாமல் அவர்கள் களவு குற்றங்களை கண்டு பிடிக்க முடியும். அப்படி இல்லாவிட்டால் அரசாங்கத்தின் மேல் மக்களுக்கு வெறுப்பு உண்டாகும். குற்றங்குறைகளிருந்தால், களவு கொலைகள் நடந்திருந்தால் போலீஸார்கள் தானாகவே சென்று மக்களின் ஒத்தழைப்பை மாத்திரம் எதிர்பார்த்து சேவை செய்ய வேண்டுமென்ற நோக்கத்தை அவர்களுக்கு புகுத்த வேண்டும். இது சர்க்காருடைய கடமையாகும்.

“எத்தனையோ இடங்களில் ஹரிஜனங்களில் எவ்வளவோ பேர்கள் சப் இன்ஸ்பெக்டர்களாகவும், டிப்டி சூப்பிரண்டுகளாகவும் வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு மேல் உத்தியோகங்கள் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறதா அல்லது ஏதாவது பதவி பிரமோஷன் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறதா என்பதை எடுத்துப் பேச விரும்புகிறேன். தமிழ் நாட்டில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு ஒரு மந்திரிபதவி வேண்டுமென்றால் எங்கிருந்து கொடுப்போம், அப்படி கொடுத்தால் தென் கெனரா ஹரிஜனங்கள் கேட்பார்கள் என்றும், மலபார் ஹரிஜனங்கள் கேட்பார்கள் என்றும் பதில் சொல்லப்பட்டது. ஆகவே எல்லா பதவியையும் ஹரிஜனங்கள் கைப்பற்றுவர் என்று ஒவ்வொருவரும் இப்பொழுது புழுங்கிக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். ஒவ்வொருவரும் தங்களுடைய மனதில் கையை வைத்துப் பார்த்தால் நன்றாக விளங்கும். சப் இன்ஸ்பெக்டராகவும் டிப்டி சூப்பிரண்டாகவும் ஹரிஜனங்கள் இருந்து அவர்களுக்கு பெரிய உத்தியோகங்கள் கொடுத்தால் மேல் பதவியிலிருக்கும் ஜாதி ஹிந்துக்களுடைய கதி என்னவாகும் என்று நினைக்கிறார்கள். அதனால் தான் அவர்களுக்கு ப்ரமோஷன் கொடுக்க மனம் இடம் கொடுக்கவில்லை; அதனால் அவர்களை மேல் பதவிகளுக்குப் போகவிடாமல் எந்த முறையிலாவது தடுக்க வேண்டுமென்ற திட்டத்திலிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகவே ஹரிஜன சப் இன்ஸ்பெக்டர்களும் டிப்டி சூப்பிரண்டுகளும் எவ்வளவு இடத்தில் இருக்கிறார்களோ அவர்களுடைய ரிகார்டுகளைப் பரிசீலனை செய்து லஞ்சம் ஊழல் இல்லாத விஷயங்களிலெல்லாம் தெரிந்து கொண்டு அவர்களுக்கு ப்ரமோஷன் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். ஜாதி ஹிந்துக்கள் மேல் பதவியிலிருப்பதால் தான் ஹரிஜன சப் இன்ஸ்பெக்டர்களுக்கும் டிப்டி சூப்பிரண்டுளுக்கும் ப்ரமோஷன் வரவில்லை என்று மக்கள் கொதித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள்.

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ஆகவே அவரவர்களுடைய பர்சனல் பைல்களை வரவழைத்து அவர்களுக்கு பரமோஷன் கொடுத்து அவர்களை மேல் பதவிக்குக் கொண்டு வர வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அவ்விதம் செய்தால்தான் நான் நாடு சுபிட்சம் அடையும் என்று சொல்லக்கொண்டு இத்துடன் முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI P. RANGASWAMI REDDIAR:—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the cut motion. Some years back it was written by an author on the Economic History of India, that the ‘least successful feature in British administration in India was and is to this day, Police.’ I think the same remark holds good even now about the police administration so far as our State is concerned. So far as police administration is concerned, the duties of the police include the preservation of order, protection of life and property, prevention and detection of crime and bringing before appropriate courts offenders and alleged offenders against law. At the same time, their duties and the many restrictions against them are defined by law. For instance, hon. Members who are lawyers may very well be aware of Section 27 of the Indian Evidence Act, according to which any confession to a police officer is not admissible in a court of law except so much of it as leads to a discovery of any material involved in the commission of the offence. This Act was passed some 80 years ago. Again there is Section 162 of the Criminal Procedure Code according to which any statement made before a police officer is inadmissible in a court of law and such statements can be used only to contradict statements made during the trial. The framers of these famous codes perhaps had in their minds the possible atrocities of the police or the police excesses, and the methods that they used now under the pretext of detection of crime. Recently, I happened to go through the judgment published in the *Hindusthan Times*, dated 12th July 1952. That is the judgment of Mr. Justice Bhandari of the Punjab High Court, in what is known as the Delhi Police Torture Case. In his judgment, Mr. Justice Bhandari has rightly observed that ‘it was a matter of common knowledge that third degree methods were often used by the police for the purpose of extorting confessions and information which might lead to the detection of offences.’ I am glad that at least one Judge was bold enough to recognize readily that these third degree methods were being used by the police. I do not know how many Hon. Ministers on the Treasury Benches can readily understand or recognize the third degree methods used in our State. But, whether they recognize it or not, or whether they profess ignorance or whether they know these third degree methods used by the Police or not, I would respectfully submit to this House that these third degree methods are used and they are quite unwarranted under any provision of law. They are not recognized either by the Criminal Procedure Code or by any Criminal Rules of Practice. Nowhere, these third degree methods are recognized. If Hon. Ministers say that they are ignorant of these things, very well. Perhaps ignorance of such things is really a bliss, because it is not good to know such atrocious things.

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“ Now, I would like to cite one or two instances and if any Hon. Minister feels any doubt about these things, I can tell him straightway that all those instances can very well be substantiated. My ambition is that we should recognize it one way or the other and decide whether these third degree methods are at all necessary. If you think that they are necessary, then this Government should prevail upon the Central Government to make the necessary amendments in the penal law in this respect. If, however, you think that these methods are not necessary, then it is high time suitable steps are taken against the police officials who are responsible for employing such third degree methods and thus bringing down the prestige of the administration in the eyes of the public. Now, coming to the instances that I would like to mention before this House, I shall be brief in my narration, so that it may not wound the feelings of hon. Members including the Hon. Ministers here. In 1949, in Tiruthuraiipundi taluk, Tanjore district, an unmarried girl was taken from the village of Samban Odai to the police station at Muthuppettai and there she was tortured by the police. I do not want to repeat exactly in what way the torture was made as it will be very indecent to do so. She was tortured on the ground that she harboured and fed one Sivaraman, an underground Communist. Sometime later, that Sivaraman was arrested by the police and shot dead. So far as this unmarried girl who was molested and tortured by the police is concerned, she is still alive. If necessary, she may be examined.

“ Secondly, in 1950 one Arogya Mari of Dindigul was taken to the police station and was molested by six or seven constables and as a result of this, she died. That is the strong rumour. Whatever it is, the fact remains that she was taken to the police station in 1950, and she never came back from the police station. People are of the opinion that she must have met with her death within the police station itself.

“ I would like to refer to the Delhi Police Torture case in this connection. There also, we are told that the person who was taken and kept in the custody of the police never returned for many days, and after a fortnight or so his body was found dead within the premises of the police station. If any Member has curiosity to know the details of the methods of torture employed by the police in that case, they can refer to the *Hindusthan Times* of the 12th July. Hon. Members can very well go through that paper and see for themselves how such third degree methods of torture are being adopted in the whole of India, not to speak of Madras alone.

“ I shall now refer to one more instance of police excess and show how the police have been behaving. The hon. Member Sri Madanagopal has been returned to this House from the Vedasandur constituency. I think that some ten days back, he made some references to the atrocities of the police so far as he was concerned. From his personal experience, he has given certain details about the police atrocities. So, there is no question of circumstantial and hearsay evidence. The next day after his

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torture, I had been to Dindigul. Some people of that place related to me how he was humiliated by the police. It was reliably stated by them that Mr. Madanagopal was subjected to horrible inhuman treatment at the hands of the police. They told me that he was dragged in the streets of Dindigul with a shoe in his mouth. This is the way in which he was treated. Will this not be sufficient proof of the police excesses and atrocities? When the case, in which he was arrested and humiliated, was ultimately tried, the hon. Member, Mr. Madanagopal, was honourably acquitted. The records are there. The Hon. the Chief Minister may call for the records if necessary. He may also make enquiries in this connection. I would also submit here, Sir, another suggestion in all humility and modesty. I think it is high time that all the Members sitting on the Treasury Benches went and travelled through the interior parts of our State in disguise—a Minister from Tamilnad may visit the Andhra area and an Andhra Minister may visit Tamilnad—without giving any advance intimation of their tours, and get first-hand information not only about the police excesses but also about corruption, etc. They may then get first-hand information and may be a little bit convinced that it is not the Opposition only that are making all these allegations. The Chief Minister may thus avoid these 'unfounded' allegations safely. At least in the first part of their parliamentary life, let the Ministers make an earnest attempt to see things for themselves. After all it may not cost much either to the Minister or to the State. It can be usefully done in the larger interests of the country.

"I would next refer to the case of another hon. Member, Mr. Kalyanasundaram. So far as he is concerned, he comes from my own district. He was tortured in the Saidapet jail and any hon. Member seeing his head will note it is particularly bald. Is this baldness due to old age or due to any defect in his health? No. It is the violent plucking of hairs by the police that has made him bald. He is a living example to show the atrocities and tortures committed by the police, and the third degree methods used by them. He has been made an invalid. I say he is a living example, because many died at the hands of the police within the premises of the police station. He is here but he cannot walk freely and talk freely and his soul is just living inside a skeleton which has been highly damaged by the police. Therefore, Sir, if still the Government think all these methods are necessary, let them prevail upon the Central Government to make the necessary amendment to the Criminal Procedure Code or the Criminal Rules of Practice."

DEPUTY SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member's time is up."

* SRI P. RANGASWAMI REDDIAR :—"I need two more minutes, Sir. If the methods are not necessary, it is time that the Government make effective changes so that the public may have greater confidence in the police and treat them as friends. I am not at all interested in speaking about such kinds of torture

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as especially in certain cases, speaking about the tortures, is highly repugnant to one's sense of decency.

“Coming to efficiency, so far as Madras City is concerned, this City happens to be the headquarters of the State and many heads of departments are here. All the same, in broad day-light, one Lakshmikantham was stabbed at about 11 a.m. some years ago here, and hon. Members might know what the result of the investigation was. If this is the case in respect of the City where so many heads of departments are living, what are we to say about the efficiency of the police elsewhere. Perhaps the want of efficiency is due to poor salary paid to the police servants. Page 582 of the Budget Estimate (detailed) shows the scales of pay of police officials. That may perhaps be one reason for inefficiency. Frederick Halliday, the first Lieutenant Governor of Bengal commenting on the Police administration of India has said: ‘The truth is that the subordinate officers of the Police are generally very much underpaid, and being exposed to great temptations are extremely corrupt.’ Perhaps the same remark may hold good even now. But it is a matter for due investigation by the Government.

“In the matter of promotion, I am reliably told that in Tiruchirappalli district, one gentleman with less efficiency and bad record has been promoted to the rank of the district officer overlooking the claims of three other gentlemen belonging to different communities—one Muslim, one Brahmin and the third a Malayalee, a Nair. These are examples of promotion being made indiscriminately without considering the merit and past record of the officers. This is also perhaps another reason for the inefficiency. So much about inefficiency.

“Sir, we are living in an advanced State and we are living in an enlightened age. Let not the police repeat the rule of tooth for tooth and eye for eye. Let it be understood by all hon. Members that unless the subordinate Judiciary and the subordinate Police are properly toned up and made to serve the larger interests of the public at large, the State cannot thrive and the Departments of the Government cannot function properly.”

***SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM :—**“கனம் உதவி சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே! இந்த வெட்டுப் பிரேரணையை ஆதரித்து நான் பேசுகிறேன். இந்த போலீஸ் இலாகாவுக்காக ஏழுகோடியே பத்து லக்ஷம் ரூபாய் வேண்டுமென்று கேட்கிறது இருக்கிறதே இது கொஞ்சம் கூட நியாயமில்லை. தர்மமும் இல்லை. நேர்மையும் இல்லை. இதை யாரும் ஒப்புக் கொள்ள மாட்டார்கள். இதற்கு பெரிய அரசியல் ஞானம் வேண்டாம். அதோடு கூட அரசியல் அபிப்பிராயபேதமும் இருக்கலாம். எப்படியிருந்தாலும் யாரும் இவ்வளவு பெரிய தொகையை போலீஸ் இலாகாவுக்கு செலவழிக்கிறதை ஆதரிக்க முடியாது. அதுவும் கனம் முதல் மந்திரி அவர்கள் இவ்வளவு பெரிய தொகையை எப்படி, எதற்காகக் கோருகிறார்கள் என்பது தான் எனக்கு ஆச்சரியமாக இருக்கிறது. அதோடு ஏழுகோடியே பத்து லக்ஷ ரூபாய்கள் போலீஸ் இலாகாவுக்காகக் கோருவது சரியில்லையென்று நாங்கள் எதிர்க்கும்போது, கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சியை ஒடுக்குவதற்காக, ஒழித்துக் கட்டுவதற்காக இவ்வளவு தொகை வேண்டியிருக்கிறது என்கிறதினால் தான், இவ்வளவு தொகையைக் கேட்கும்போது எங்கள் கட்சிக்கு ஏதாவது ஆபத்து வருமோ என்று பயந்து இதையெல்லாம் தாக்கிப் பேசுகிறோம்

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என்று யாரும் எண்ணவேண்டிய அவசியமில்லை. ஏழு கோடியே, பத்து லக்ஷம் ரூபாயைக் கொண்டு கம்யூனிஸ்டுக் கட்சியை ஒருநாளும் அழிக்க முடியாது என்பது என்னுடைய திடமான நம்பிக்கை. அனுபவமும் அதையே தான் ஊர்ஜிதப்படுத்துகிறது. பிறர் எண்ணுவது போல இது மாதிரியான பயம் எனக்குக் கிடையாது; எங்கள் கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தவர்கள் யாருக்கும் கிடையாது; சர்க்காருக்கு எதிராக இன்று அமைந்திருக்கிற எதிர்க்கட்சியில் சேர்ந்திருக்கிற அங்கத்தினர்கள் யாருக்கும் கிடையாது. ஆனால் என்னைக் கேட்டால் போலீஸ் படையை அதிகரிப்பதினால் மாத் திரம் நீங்கள் வெற்றி அடையமுடியாது என்று தான் சொல்லுவேன். இதை 1946-47-ம் வருஷ அனுபவம் நன்றாக எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறது. சென்ற மத்திரி சபையில் நிதி மந்திரியாக இருந்த ஸ்ரீ கொபால் ரெட்டி அவர்கள் கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சியை ஒடுக்குவதற்காகவென்று 2 கோடி ரூபாய்கள் போலீஸுக்காக அதிகமாக ஒதுக்கி செலவிட்டார்கள். அதனால் ஏற்பட்ட பலன் என்னவென்றால் முன்பு 2 கம்யூனிஸ்டு அங்கத்தினர்கள் இருந்த இந்தச் சென்னை சட்டசபையில் இன்று 62 அங்கத்தினர்கள் உட்கார்ந்திருக்கிறோம். ஆகையால் இன்னும் எவ்வளவு கோடி ரூபாய்கள் கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சியை ஒடுக்குவதற்காகவென்று செலவு செய்தாலும் அதற்காக நாங்கள் பயப்படப் போவதில்லை.

“ போலீஸ் இலாகாவுக்காக எதற்கு அதிகம் செலவு செய்கிறீர்கள் ? என்று கேட்டால் இன்னொரு காரணம் கூடச் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அதாவது ‘குற்றங்கள் அதிகம் வருகின்றன. அதனால் போலீஸ் படையை அதிகரிக்க வேண்டியிருக்கிறது’ என்பதாக. 1950-ம் வருஷக் கணக்குப்படி 85 ஆயிரம் குற்றங்களுக்கு மேல் ஜாஸ்தியாகியிருக்கிறதென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். போலீஸ் இலாகா குற்றங்கள் வராமல் தடுப்பதற்காக இருக்கிறதா? தடுப்பதற்காக உபயோகிக்கப்படுகிறதா? அல்லது அதிக குற்றங்களை உண்டு பண்ணுவதற்காக இருக்கிறதா? என்று பார்க்கவேண்டும். பொதுவாகப் பார்க்கப் போனால் போலீஸ் படையை இவர்கள் எவ்வளவுக்கெவ்வளவு அதிகரித்துக் கொண்டு போகிறார்களோ அவ்வளவுக்கெவ்வளவு குற்றங்களும் அதிகரித்துக் கொண்டே போகின்றன. போலீஸ் வேண்டாமென்று நான் சொல்லவில்லை. எனக்கு அவ்வளவு சமூகப் பிரச்சனை பற்றிய ஞானம் இல்லாமலில்லை. ஆனால் குற்றங்கள் அதிகரித்துக் கொண்டே போகிற தென்றால் அதற்குக் காரணம் வேறு. போலீஸ் படையை அதிகரித்துக் கொண்டே போவதினால் மாத் திரம் அதைத் தடுத்ததுவிட முடியாது என்பதைத் தான் நான் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன்.

“ இது, எந்த மாதிரியான ஒரு பிரச்சனையை உள்ளே கொண்டதாக இருந்தாலும், போலீஸ் இலாகாவுக்காக ஏழு கோடியே பத்து லக்ஷ ரூபாய்கள் வேண்டுமென்று கேட்கும்பேரது, அதனால் மக்களுக்கு எந்த விதமான டௌக்கர்யமும் கிடையாது என்பது யாவரும் அனுபவத்தில் கண்டிருக்கும் உண்மையாக இருக்கும்பொழுது, இதற்கு எப்படி ஆதரவு கொடுப்பது? அப்படியே இந்தச் சபையில் ஆதரவு கொடுத்தாலும் வெளியே சென்று மக்களிடம் எதற்காக ஆதரவு கொடுத்தோம் என்று பதில் சொல்லுவது? ராஜாஜி போலீஸ் இலாகாவுக்காக ஏழு கோடியே சொச்சம் பணம் கேட்டார். அதிக போலீஸ் ஸ்டேஷன்கள் நிறுவ வேண்டியிருக்கிறதாம். அதிகமாக போலீஸ் படையை விஸ்தரிக்கவேண்டியிருக்கிறதாம். அதற்காக நாங்கள் சரியென்று வோட்டுக் கொடுத்தோம், என்று அந்தப் பக்கத்தில் இருக்கக் கூடிய காங்கிரஸ் நண்பர்களே பொது மக்களிடம் சென்று சொன்னாலும்கூட அவர்கள் என்ன சொல்லுவார்கள், இவர்களுக்குப் பதில் என்று யோசிக்கவேண்டும். ‘போலீஸ் படையை அதிகரிக்க வேண்டும், போலீஸ் ஸ்டேஷன்கள் ஏற்படுத்தவேண்டுமென்பதற்காக இவ்வளவு பெரிய தொகையைக் கொடுத்தீர்களே. இங்கே பள்ளிக்கூடத்தில் படிப்பதற்கு பிள்ளைகளுக்கு இடமில்லையென்று சொல்லுகிறார்களே. அதற்காக பள்ளிக்கூடம் கட்டுவதற்கு எவ்வளவு பணம் ஒதுக்கினீர்கள்? பிள்ளைகளுக்கு அடமிஷனுக்கு இடம் கிடைக்காது திண்டாடுகிறார்களே, அதற்காக என்ன ஏற்பாடுகளைச் செய்திருக்கிறீர்கள்?’ என்று கேட்டால் என்ன பதில் சொல்வார்கள் என்று தான் தெரியவில்லை. இதற்கெல்லாம் அரசாங்கத்தாரிடமிருந்தும் சமாதானம் கிடையாது.

[Sri M. Kalyanasundaram]

[17th July 1952]

“ஆதலால் தான் இப்பொழுது கோரப்படும் போலீஸ் மானியத்திற்கு நாங்கள் அனுமதி கொடுக்கப் போவதில்லை. இதை ஒப்புக் கொள்ள முடியாது என்கிறோம். கடந்த ஐந்து வருஷ ஆட்சியில் போலீஸ்காரர்களால் பொது மக்களுக்கு என்னென்ன கஷ்டங்கள் ஏற்பட்டன என்பதைப் பற்றி அனேகம் அங்கத்தினர்கள் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள். அவற்றையெல்லாம்பற்றி மறுபடியும் நான் சொல்லவேண்டியது அவசியமில்லை. இருந்தாலும் ஒரு சில விஷயங்களைச் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன்.

“கடந்தகாலத்தில் போலீஸ் இலாகாவின் நிர்வாகம் மிகவும் வெட்கப் படத்தக்க முறையில் நடந்திருக்கிறது. எல்லோரும் அவமானப் படத்தக்க நிலையிலே தான் அதன் நிர்வாகம் நடத்தப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இப்பொழுது போலீஸ் நிர்வாகத்திலேயே அடிப்படையான மாறுதல்களைச் செய்தாக வேண்டும். அதில் எவ்வித மாறுதல்களும் செய்யாமல், அதே போலீஸ் அதிகாரிகளை வைத்துக்கொண்டு, இப்பொழுது மறுபடியும் பெரிய தொகை ஒன்று அதன் நிர்வாகத்திற்கென்று கேட்பது மிகவும் நியாயமென்று எப்படிச் சொல்ல முடியும்? இதனால் நாட்டுக்கு என்ன நன்மையென்றாவது யாராவது எடுத்துச் சொல்வார்களா என்று கேட்கிறேன்?

“அடுத்தபடியாக இன்னொரு விஷயத்தை மந்திரி சபைக்குச் சொல்ல வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. கடந்த ஐந்து ஆண்டுகளில் போலீசார் செய்த அட்டூழியங்களும், அக்கிரமங்களும் போகட்டும். இனிமேலாவது அவர்கள் எப்படி வெறித்தனமாக, மூர்க்கத்தனமாக, அக்கிரமமாக நடந்து கொள்ளமாட்டார்கள் என்பதற்கு என்ன உத்தரவாதம்? இந்த ஏழ் கோடியே பத்து லக்ஷம் ரூபாய் தொகைக்கு இவர்கள் இப்பொழுது இருக்கக்கூடிய மெஜாரிடி பலத்தை வைத்துக் கொண்டு அனுமதி வாங்கிவிடலாம். இதற்கு மேலும் தொகை வேண்டுமென்றாலும் இவர்கள் வாங்கிக் கொள்ள முடியும், இப்பொழுது இருக்கக்கூடிய மெஜாரிடியை வைத்துக் கொண்டு. அதனால் வெளியே இவர்களுக்கு ஒன்றும் பெருமை ஏற்படாதென்பது மாதிரியும் நிச்சயம். அது இவர்களுக்கே தெரிந்திருக்கும். வெள்ளையர்கள் இந்தியர்களை அடக்குவதற்காக எவ்வளவு அக்கிரமமாக போலீஸ்காரர்களை உபயோகித்தார்களோ அதைவிட அக்கிரமமாக, இந்த சர்க்கார் வெட்கப் படத்தக்க முறையிலே, சென்ற காலத்தில் நடந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறதென்பதை மாதிரியும் நான் ஒரே வார்த்தையில் சொல்லிக் கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன். ஆகையால் இனிமேல் போலீஸ்காரர்கள் அம்மாதிரி நடந்து கொள்ளமாட்டார்கள். என்பதற்கு இப்பொழுது உத்தரவாதம் கொடுக்க வேண்டியது இந்த மந்திரி சபையே தவிர நாங்கள் அல்ல; கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சியும் அல்ல; நாங்கள் யாருக்கும் பதில் சொல்லவேண்டியதும் இல்லை. பொது மக்களுக்கு முன்னால் ‘இனிமேல் போலீஸார்கள் அக்கிரமமாக நடந்து கொள்ளமாட்டார்கள்’, எந்தப் பொது மக்களையும் கொடுமைப்படுத்தமாட்டார்கள்’ என்பதாக இவர்கள் தான் இப்பொழுது உறுதியளிக்க வேண்டும்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக எனக்குத் தெரியும், இந்த போலீஸ் எப்படியும் இருந்து கொண்டு தான் இருக்கப் போகிறது; இந்தச் சபையின் மூலம் அதை மாற்றி விடமுடியாது என்று. அசனல் இந்த அடிப்படையை மனதில் வைத்துக் கொண்டு நான் சில யோசனைகளைச் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். போலீஸ் இலாகாவே கூடாது; போலீஸ் அதிகாரிகளே கூடாது, என்று நான் சொல்லவில்லை. நியாயமான அளவு போலீஸ் இலாகாவில் பணம் செலவழிப்பதைப் பற்றி, நான் குறையும் சொல்லவில்லை. ஆனால் இப்பொழுது இருக்கக்கூடிய போலீஸ் நிர்வாகத்தை கொஞ்சம் கூட, அடிப்படையில் மாற்றம் செய்யாமல், இவ்வளவு பெரிய தொகையைக் கோருவதைத் தான், ஆகேடிக்கிறேன்.

“கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சிக்காரர்கள், முன்னே ஒன்று பின்னே ஒன்று சொல்வதற்கு ஒரு உதாரணம் சொல்லவேண்டுமென்றால், அவர்கள் ஒரு பக்கத்திலே போலீஸ்காரர்கள் செய்வது தப்பு, அவர்கள் வேண்டலே வேண்டாமென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அதேசமயம் இன்னொரு பக்கத்திலே போலீஸ்காரர்களின் சம்பளம் உயரவேண்டும் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இது எப்படி ஒன்றுக்கொன்று முரணாக இருக்கிறது பாருங்கள்” என்று

17th July 1952] [Sri M. Kalyanasundaram]

சிலபேர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இதில் ஒன்றுக்கொன்று என்ன முரண் இருக்கிறதென்பதை இவர்கள் கண்டார்கள் என்று தான் எனக்கும் தெரியவில்லை. தயவு செய்து அப்படி ஒன்றும் தப்பாக எண்ணிக் கொள்ளாதீர்கள். இதில் முரண் ஒன்றுமேயில்லையென்று தான் அவர்களுக்கு நான் சொல்ல ஆசைப்படுகிறேன். போலீஸ்காரர்களின் வாழ்க்கைத்தரம் உயரவேண்டும். அவர்கள் வாழ்க்கை நடத்துவதற்கேற்ற சம்பளம், அவர்களுக்குக் கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டும் என்பது எங்கள் கொள்கை தான். அவர்கள் செய்த அக்கிரமங்களைப்பற்றியெல்லாம் குறிப்பிடும்போது, நாங்கள், அந்த ஏழை, வறுமையில் வாடித் தவிக்கின்ற போலீஸ்காரர்கள் மேல் கோபித்துக் கொள்ளவில்லை. ஆனால் அந்த போலீஸ்காரர்களை, எங்கள் மேல், மூர்க்கத்தனமாகப்போய் தாக்கச் சொல்லி உத்தரவிட்ட அரசாங்கத்தைத்தான் தாக்குகிறோம். எய்தியவரை விடும் அம்பு மேல் சிமை கொள்ளும் வழக்கம் எங்களுக்குக் கிடையாது. தங்களுடைய அரசியல் கொள்கையை நிர்த்தாரணம் பண்ணிக் கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்பதற்காக, தங்கள் கொள்கைக்கு எதிராகப் பேசும் அரசியல் கட்சியின் பேரில் சென்ற மந்திரி சபை போலீஸ்காரர்களை எவ்விட்டதால் தான் அவர்கள் எங்களைத் தாக்கிறார்கள். அதற்காக அந்த சர்க்காரை நாங்கள் குற்றம் சாட்டுகிறோமே தவிர, தனிப்பட்ட போலீஸ்காரர்கள் யார் மேலும் எங்களுக்கு விரோத மில்லை. ஆகையால் தான் சொல்லுகிறோம். இன்று போலீஸ் இலாகாவில் மிகவும் குறைவான சம்பளம் வாங்கிக் கொண்டிருக்கிற காண்ட்டபிள், ஹெட்காண்ட்டபிள் அவர்களுடைய அடிப்படை சம்பள விகிதம் உயர்த்தப்படவேண்டும். குறைந்த சம்பளத்தைக் கொடுத்து அவர்களை பொதுமக்களிடம் போய் தங்கள் வருவாய்க்கு வேண்டிய பாக்கித் தொகையை வசூல் செய்து கொள்ளுங்கள் என்று சொல்லாமற் சொல்லி ஏவிவிடுவது இனிமேல் நிறுத்தப்படவேண்டும் என்பதாகத் தான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். சாதாரணமாக ஒன்றைச் சொல்லுகிறேன், ஒரு போலீஸ்காரர், ஒரு ஊரிலிருந்து இன்னொரு ஊருக்குச் சென்றால் அதற்கு படியாக 14 அணை கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. இந்தக்காலத்தில் ஒரு ஊரிலிருந்து இன்னொரு ஊருக்குப் போய்வர குறைந்தது 2 ரூபாய்கள் கூட இல்லாமல் முடியுமா என்று நீங்களே யோசித்துப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். அதனால் அந்தப் படியையும் உயர்த்திக் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். அவர்கள் குடியிருப்பதற்கு வேண்டிய வசதியும் சரியாகச் செய்து கொடுப்பதில்லை. அதையும் அபிவிருத்தி செய்து கொடுக்கவேண்டும். இவையெல்லாம் அபிவிருத்தி செய்து கொடுக்காமல் மேலும் மேலும் போலீஸ் ஸ்டேஷன்களை ஏற்படுத்திக் கொண்டே போவதில் அர்த்தமில்லை. அடுத்த படியாக, அனுபவம் அதிகம் பெற்ற ஹெட்காண்ட்டபிள்களுக்குக்கெல்லாம் ஸப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் பதவிக்குப் ப்ரமோஷன் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். அதைப் பற்றி காலையிலே ஒரு கேள்விக்கு பதிலளிக்கும்போது, அந்த விஷயம் ஆலோசனையில் இருந்து வருவதாக கனம் மந்திரி அவர்கள் பதில் சொன்னார்கள். அதில் ஆலோசனை செய்ய வேண்டியது ஒன்றுமேயில்லை. அதை உடனே கவனித்து அப்படிச் செய்ய வேண்டும். அதுமாதிரி ஆக்டிவ் பார்த்த ஹெட்காண்ட்டபிள்களையெல்லாம் உடனே புதிதாக ஏற்படுத்துகிற அவுட்போஸ்ட் போலீஸ் ஸ்டேஷன்களில் எல்லாம் ஸப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர்களாக நியமிக்கவேண்டும்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக இப்பொழுது உயர்ந்த போலீஸ் அதிகாரிகளின் தொகை ரொம்ப ஜாஸ்தியாகிக் கொண்டு வருகிறது. Dy.I.G., Asst. I.G. என்பதாகவெல்லாம் புதுப்புது உத்தியோகங்களை ஏற்படுத்திக் கொண்டு மொத்தத்தில் 11 உயர்ந்த பதவிகள் இருக்கின்றன. இவ்வளவு அதிகமாக ஏன் உயர்ந்த அதிகாரிகள் இருக்கவேண்டுமென்று தான் எனக்குத் தெரியவில்லை. இதையெல்லாம் குறைக்கவேண்டும்.”

* SRI A. S. SAHAJANANDAM:—“கனம் உப-சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, இந்தச் சபை முன், கனம் முதல் மந்திரி அவர்களால் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் போலீஸ் மான்யத்தை நான் ஆதரிக்கிறேன். ஆதரிக்கும் வகையில், போலீஸ் இலாகாவில் இருக்கப்பட்ட சில குறைபாடுகளையும் நான் எடுத்துக்கூற வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. கம்யூனிசம் பெருகினதற்குக் காரணம் தஞ்சாவூர் ஜில்லா மிராச்தார்கள் செய்த தவறு தான் என்று நான் கருதுகிறேன். பயிர்த் தொழிலாளர்கள் தங்கள் கூலியை, கால் படி, அரைபடி உயர்த்திக்கொடுங்கள் என்று கேட்டாலும், மிராச்தார்கள் அதற்கு இனங்கி அவர்களுக்குப் போதிய

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[17th July 1952]

ஊதியத்தைக் கொடுப்பதில்லை. இம்மாதிரி அவர்கள் ஏதாவது தங்களுக்குள்ள கஷ்டங்களை எடுத்துச் சொல்லும்போது, மிராசுதார்கள் காதில் போட்டுக் கொள்ளாமல், சூழ்ச்சி செய்து, விவசாயிகளைக் கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் என்று போலீசாரிடம் பிடித்துக் கொடுத்து, அவர்களைத் துன்புறுத்துகிறார்கள். சாதாரண விவசாயிகளையும், கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் என்று சொல்லி, போலீசாரின் உதவியைக்கொண்டு, துன்புறுத்துகிறார்கள். இம்மாதிரி தஞ்சாவூர் ஜில்லாவில் நடைபெற்ற அக்கிரமங்கள் விஷயமாக, பழைய அஸெம்பிளியில் நான் கேள்வி கேட்பதற்கு அப்படி கேட்போது, 'அம்மாதிரி ஒன்றும் நடப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை' யென்றும் கலெக்டர் இம்மாதிரி நடந்ததாக ரிப்போர்ட் செய்யவில்லையென்றும் பதில் சொன்னார்கள். 'இது விஷயம் அனைவருக்கும் தெரியும்' என்று சொன்னேன். ஆனால், சர்க்கார் அதற்கு எந்தவிதமான நடவடிக்கையும் எடுத்துக் கொள்ளவில்லை. அதன் பேரில், உண்மையை விளக்க அன்று மாஸையில் அரை மணி நேரம் இது விஷயமாக அஸெம்பிளியில் பேசவேண்டுமென்று ஒரு 'adjournment motion' கொண்டு வந்தேன். கனம் ஸ்ரீ குமாரசாமி ராஜா அப்பொழுது பிரதம மந்திரியாக இருந்தார். அவர், எனக்கு ஆள்விட்டு, கூப்பிட்டு, 'இதற்கு ஒரு கமிட்டி வைத்து விசாரணை செய்யப்போகிறோம், motionஐ வற்புறுத்தாதே' என்று சொன்னார். நானும் அஸெம்பிளியில், 'கனம் பிரதமர் குமாரசாமி ராஜா அவர்கள் ஒரு கமிட்டி வைத்து விசாரிப்பதாகச் சொல்லுகிறார்' அதை நம்பி நான் என்னுடைய 'மோஷனை வற்புறுத்தவில்லை' என்று சொன்னேன். அதற்குப் பிறகு யாதொரு விதமான கமிட்டியும் நியமிக்கப்பட்டதாகத் தெரியவில்லை.

"தஞ்சாவூர் மிராசுதார்களுக்கும் சிசான்களுக்கும் ஏற்பட்ட தகராறினாலும், சிசான்கள் மிராசுதார்களிடம் பட்ட கஷ்டங்களினாலும் தான் அவர்கள் கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளாக மாறும்படியான நிலை ஏற்பட்டது. தஞ்சாவூர் ஜில்லாவில் நடந்த அக்கிரமங்கள் பேப்பரிலும் வரவில்லை. அதனால் அரசாங்கத்தாரும் தெரிந்து கொள்ளமுடியவில்லை. அதனால், அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியாது என்று சொன்னார்கள். ராஜாஜி ஹாலில் இது சம்பந்தமாகப் பேசுவதற்கு ஒரு மகாநாடு கூட்டி விவாதித்தோம். பிறகு பேப்பரிலும் பிரசுரம் செய்யப் பட்டது. அரசாங்கமும் தெரிந்துகொள்ள முடிந்தது. ஆயினும் யாதொரு பலனும் ஏற்படவில்லை. தஞ்சையில் நடக்கும் விஷயங்கள் பேப்பரில் வராததன் காரணம் என்ன? மிராசுதார்கள் பணம் கொடுத்து, சரியானபடி விளம்பரப்படுத்தாமல் பார்த்துக்கொண்டார்கள். தஞ்சையில் நடந்த அக்கிரமங்களில் சிலவற்றை இங்கு குறிப்பிடுகின்றேன். அரசாங்கமும், மிராசுதார்கள் தாட்சண்யத்தால், தெரிந்து கொள்ளாதது போலிருந்தபடியால் கம்யூனிஸம் பெருகியது.

"1950-ஆம் மே 14-ல் நன்னாவரத்தில் 12 பேர்களை மண்டியிட்டு நடக்கும்படி அடித்தார்கள். அவர்கள் காலில் புண் உண்டாகி தழும்பி யிருக்கிறது.

"ஆச்சான்புரம் போஸ்ட் நல்லூரில் கல்யாணசுந்தரம் என்பவரை முதுகிலும் காலிலும் அடித்து காயமுண்டாக்கினார்கள்.

"காப்பியக்குடியில் மரத்தில் பயந்து ஏறியவனை அடிப்பதற்கு தென்னைமரத்தை வெட்டினார்கள். மரம் பாதி வெட்டப்பட்ட பிறகு ஏறியவனை இறங்கியவுடன் அடித்திருக்கிறார்கள்.

"ஒவநூர் பக்கம் எழிலூரில் வீடுகளைக் கொளுத்தி தான்யங்களையும் ரொக்கங்களையும் கொள்ளையடித்துப் போனார்கள்.

"குண்ணம், மஞ்சளடி களத்தில் பெண்களை நிர்மாணமாக்கி ஆண்கள் மேல் மூத்திரம் பெய்யும்படிச் செய்தார்கள்.

"குண்ணத்தில் ஒருவன் காவேரிப்பட்டினத்தானை கையை உடைத்தான். சீரங்குடியில் ஆடுகளை ஒட்டிக்கொண்டு போய்விட்டார்கள். ஆதமங்கலத்தில் கம்யூனிஸ்டு கொடியேற்றினார்கள். அங்கு போலீஸ்படை போகவில்லை. ஒரு கம்யூனிஸ்டையும் அவர்கள் பிடிக்கவில்லை. சேரியில் இருக்கும் ஒன்றும் தெரியாத ஏழை மக்களிடம் சென்று, அவர்கள் தான் கம்

17th July 1952] [Sri A. S. Sahajanandam]

பூனிஸ்டுகள் என்று சொல்லி, பிடித்துக்கொண்டு போய்விட்டார்கள். தஞ்சையில் கம்பூனிஸ்டு தொந்தரவு இருக்கிறதென்று சொல்வதைப் பேப்பரால் சமீபத்தில் பார்க்கிறோம். எல்லா மிராச்தாக்களும் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து செய்யும் சூழ்ச்சியே தவிர, தஞ்சையில் ஹரிஜன வகுப்பில் ஒரு கம்ப்யூனிஸ்டைப் பிடித்துக்கொடுத்தார்களானால், நான் தூக்குப் போட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். (Hear, hear.)

“ஆர்ப்பள்ளத்தில் குமாரசாமி மகன் குஞ்சு, பூனி இவர்கள் மேல் தங்கச்சியை விட்டு மூத்தரம் பெய்யும்படி செய்தார்கள். இது விஷயமாக அஸெம்பிளியில் பிரஸ்தாபித்தும், முடிவு ஒன்றும் ஏற்படவில்லை.

“மேற்சொன்னதைப் போன்ற அக்கிரமங்களிலால் தான்கம்ப்யூனிஸம் பரவுகின்றது. ஆகையால், சர்க்கார் இப்பொதேனும் ஒரு கமிட்டி வைத்து விசாரித்து அறிகையை வெளியிடவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இந்த மாதிரி அக்கிரமங்கள் நடந்து கொண்டு வந்தால், நாம் அடைந்திருப்பது சுயராஜ்யமா அல்லது பேய் ராஜ்யமா? என்று நான் கேட்கின்றேன்.”

* SRI V. V. RAMASAMI:—“Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in discussing the policy of the Government about the police administration in this State I like to confine my remarks to certain factors obtaining in rural parts only. The police surveillance and help in urban areas are satisfactory but as far as rural parts, the villages, are concerned, I am sorry to state that they are not speedily given to the people. There are so many crimes committed such as thefts, robbery and even murder in remote villages. Many of them go unreported. Even if they are reported they are not pursued. Even if they are pursued the criminals are not detected and no action is taken. What are the reasons? I would like to submit a few suggestions in this connexion. Though there are police stations in important centres, the jurisdiction of each police station is large and it has to cover many interior villages. There are no good roads connecting every village with the police station. If anything occurs in the village there are no proper communication facilities for the villagers to report the incidents at once to the police authorities. They have to rely upon the local village officials who take their own time to report them to the higher authorities. Sometimes they say they have no transport facilities, sometimes they give some lame excuses that there are no talayaris or it is raining and that village roads are not passable. So I suggest that first of all, we must have roads connecting the villages and the police station, to have efficient policing. The police officers should be given suitable transport facilities. At present if a crime occurs in the village it takes some time for the village official to report it to the police station on account of lack of suitable transport facilities. The police official now relies upon the local mirasdar or ryot who owns a good bullock cart for his transport. If the Police Inspector or constable takes advantage of the help rendered by the mirasdar, naturally the villagers lose their confidence in the police authorities. They therefore should not be made to depend on others for transport facilities. Before constructing the roads and giving ample transport facilities for the police officers, telephone connections must be given for the police stations and important villages.

[Sri V. V. Ramasami] [17th July 1952]

“ Sir, much was said about the pay of the lower ranks of the police establishment, i.e., the Constables. Last year in Sivakasi sub-division, the Ramanathapuram district sports were held. In the evening a small drama was staged by the police officers and constables. On one occasion the then Chief Minister presided, and on another the Deputy Inspector-General of Police Mr. Parthasarathy Ayyangar presided. In the drama that was staged the actors gave a graphic picture of the sort of life they were leading, how they were not able to live with the pay they got, how the people were made to suspect them and how the superior officers misconstrued their action. After this, surely the police officers must be in a better position than the politicians to realize the lot of policemen. I would therefore emphasize the need to keep the policemen above want. If this is done I think the efficiency of the police service will increase and the people in the rural parts will be satisfied.”

* SRI S. DEIVASIGAMANY :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would not like to take much time of this hon. House in speaking on this Demand. I will only mention one or two incidents that occurred at Kancheepuram recently. There children were kidnapped, and many petitions were sent to the police officers. So far no action has been taken in the matter and not even one child that was kidnapped has been recovered. I have given notice of interpellations to the Hon. Speaker in regard to this matter. Then one other incident that happened at Kancheepuram I would like to mention. On or about the 30th of April 1952 one reading room called the ‘ Karunanidhi Padipagam ’ was set fire to. I do not know by whom it was done. A report was made to the local police authorities, and nobody has been apprehended so far in this connection. This reading room was scheduled to be opened on or about the 4th May 1952. Somebody who was inimical to this ought to have done it. I would like the Hon. Chief Minister or the Officers concerned to go into this matter and bring the offenders to book.

“ Sir, with regard to the pay of these police constables I would like to make a reference. In my opinion they are paid a very low salary, and that is the reason why they are tempted to take bribes. Their pay ought to be revised so that they might be kept above temptation. With regard to putting up of false cases there are ever so many instances, and I do not like to refer to them in detail because my friends have spoken on the matter.

“ I thank you, Sir, for giving me an opportunity to give vent to my feelings on the floor of this House on this subject.”

5-30
p.m.

* SRI M. P. PERIYASWAMY :—“ கனம் உப-சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, இந்தச் சபை முன் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கும் போலீஸ் மான்யத்தை ஆதரித்துச் சில வார்த்தைகள் சொல்ல விரும்புகின்றேன்.

“ போலீஸ் ஒவ்வொரு நாட்டுக்கும் அவசியம். அதைப் போலவே இந்த சென்னை மாகாணத்திற்கும் அது அவசியம் என்பது எல்லோருக்கும் நன்றாகத் தெரிந்த விஷயம். இந்த தேசத்தைக்காப்பாற்றுவதற்கும், மக்களுக்கு யாதொரு விதமான கெடுதலும் ஏற்படாமலிருப்பதற்கும் போலீஸ் அவசிய

17th July 1929] [Sri M. P. Periyaswamy]

மாக இருக்கிறது என்பது எல்லோருக்கும் தெரியும். இருந்தபோதிலும், 'போலீஸில் இவ்வளவு அதிகம் பேர் இருப்பது அவசியமில்லை. போலீஸ் அதிகப்பட்டுவிட்டது; சுமார் 7 கோடி ரூபாய்க்கு மேல் போலீஸுக்காக செல் விடப்படுகிறது' என்று சிலர் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அங்கிருக்கும் அதே நண்பர்கள் வெளியே போனால், என்ன சொல்லுவார்களென்றால், 'எத்தனையோ போலீஸ்காரர்களை எடுத்து விட்டார்கள்; காங்கிரஸ் அரசாங்கம் இந்த முறையில் எடுத்துவிட்டது' என்று சொல்லுவார்கள். போலீஸ் மான்யத்தைக் குறைத்திருந்தால், 'போலீசுக்கு இந்த மான்யம் போதாது' என்று பேசுவார்கள். எப்படியிருந்தபோதிலும் சர்க்கார் போலீஸுக்காகக் கோரியிருக்கும் இந்த மான்யத்தை நான் ஆதரிக்கின்றேன்.

"போலீஸ் நிர்வாகமானது நல்ல முறையில் நடைபெறுவதற்கு சில அதிகாரிகள் தடங்கல்களாக இருக்கிறார்கள். சில போலீஸ் அதிகாரிகள் சரிவர நடப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. அப்படி ஒரு சில போலீஸ் அதிகாரிகள் நல்ல முறையில் நடந்து கொள்ளாததனால், அந்த இலாகாவுக்கே ஒரு கெட்ட பெயரை அவர்கள் வாங்கிக் கொடுத்துவிடுகிறார்கள். அப்போபட்ட சில அதிகாரிகளின் மீது மேஸ்திகாரிகள் தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக்கொண்டு, 'பனிஷ்மெண்டு' கொடுக்கவேண்டும். ஆகையால், இம்மாதிரி சில குறைபாடுகள் இருக்கின்றன.

"கனம் முதல் மந்திரி ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் இந்த ராஜ்யத்தில் 1937-38ல் முதன் முதலில் ஒரு ஹரிஜனனுக்கு டிபுடி சூப்பரென்டெண்டு உத்தியோகத்தைக் கொடுத்தார். வெள்ளைக்காரர்கள் இருந்த காலத்தில் எத்தனையோ வருஷங்கள் அரசாட்சி நடத்தி வந்த போதிலும் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு ஒரு பெரிய உத்தியோகத்தைக்கூட கொடுத்து ஆதரிக்கவில்லை. ஆனால், நமது கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள்தான் முதன் முதல் ஹரிஜனனுக்கு டிபுடி சூப்பரென்டெண்டு உத்தியோகத்தைக் கொடுத்தார். அதற்குப் பிறகு, அனேக உத்தியோகங்கள் டிபுடி சூப்பரென்டெண்டுகள், சப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர்கள், டிஸ்ட்ரிக்ட் சூப்பரென்டெண்டு போன்ற உத்தியோகங்களும், மற்ற உத்தியோகங்களும் அதிகமாகப் பெற்றிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால், ஹரிஜனங்கள் சில இடங்களில் 15 அல்லது 20 வருஷம் வேலை செய்தும் கூட அவர்களுக்கு உத்தியோக உயர்வு கிடைக்கவில்லை. அதற்கு காரணம் மந்திரிகளா அல்லது அங்கத்தினர்களா என்பதைக் கவனிக்கவேண்டும். அவர்களுக்கு உத்தியோக உயர்வு அளிக்காமலிருப்பதற்கு மேஸ்திகாரிகள் அவர்களுடைய அந்தரங்க ரிகார்டுகளில் (Confidential files) குற்றங்குறைகளை எழுதிவிடுகிறார்கள். மேஸ்திகாரிகள், ஜாதி வித்தியாசத்தின் காரணமாக, இம்மாதிரி அவர்களுக்கு உத்தியோக உயர்வு கொடுக்காமல் இருக்கிறார்கள். அரசாங்கம் இது விஷயத்தைக் கவனித்து உடனடியாக தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக் கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

"மதுவிலக்குத் திட்டத்தை அமுல் நடத்துவதற்கு போலீஸ் அதிகம் தேவை. பிற்பட்ட சமூகத்தாரும், ஹரிஜன சமூகமும் மதுவிலக்கை ஆதரிக்கின்றார்கள். மதுவிலக்கினால் ஏற்படும் நன்மைகளை ஹரிஜனங்கள் நன்கு அறிவார்கள். ஹரிஜனங்கள் மதுவிலக்குத் திட்டத்திற்கு முன்னால் எந்த நிலையில் இருந்தார்கள், இப்பொழுது எந்த நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறார்கள் என்பது சேரியில் வாழும் ஹரிஜனங்களுடைய பிரதிநிதிகளாக வந்திருக்கும் எங்களுக்குத்தான் தெரியும்.

"திருட்டுச் சாராயம் காய்ச்சுவதை போலீஸ் தடைசெய்யவில்லை, அவர்களை தண்டிக்கவில்லை யென்று சொல்லப்படுகிறது. நான் போலீஸுக்கு உடந்தையாக தெரிவித்ததாக என்னுடைய ஹரில் 100, 150 வாழையைத் வெட்டி சேதப்படுத்தி விட்டார்கள். ஜில்லா போலீஸ் சூப்பரென்டெண்டுக்கும், ஜில்லா கலெக்டருக்கும் சொன்னேன். சில சமயம் திருட்டைக் கண்டுப்பிடிக்க முடியாமல் போய்விடுகிறது என்ற காரணத்திற்காக திருட்டுச் சட்டத்தையே எடுத்துவிட முடியுமா? அதைப்போலவே, ஒரு சிலர் கள்ளச் சாராயம் காய்ச்சுகிறார்கள் என்பதற்காக மதுவிலக்குச் சட்டத்தையே ரத்து செய்துவிட வேண்டுமென்று சொல்லமுடியாது. 'கள்ளச்சாராயம் காய்ச்சுவது அதிகமாகப் போய்விட்டது, கள்ளுக்கடை வீடு வீடாக Cottage industries

[Sri M. P. Periyaswamy]

[17th July 1952]

போல் நடத்தப்படுகிறது' என்று சொல்வது பொருத்தமல்ல. எத்தனையோ சட்டங்களைச் செய்திருக்கிறோம். திருடு, கொலை போன்ற குற்றங்களைத் தடுப்பதற்கு சட்டம் இருக்கிறது. அவர்களை கண்டுபிடித்து தூக்குதண்டனை கொடுக்கிறார்கள். கொலைசெய்யப்பட்டவிலையோ? அதனால் சட்டத்தை எடுத்து விடலாமா? அதைப்போலவே மதுவிலக்குச் சட்டமும் இருக்கவேண்டும்.

“சில புதிய, இள வயதிலுள்ள சப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர்கள் மதுவிலக்கு கேஸ்களை நிர்த்தாபனயமாக அதிகமாகப் பிடித்துவிடுகிறார்கள். ஊர் ஊராகச் சென்று சாராயம் காய்ச்சும் பாணையை உடைத்தெறிந்துவிடுகிறார்கள். அப்படி அவர்கள் அதிகமான கேஸ்களைக் கண்டுபிடிப்பதனால், ‘மதுவிலக்குக்குற்றங்கள் அதிகரித்துவிட்டன’ என்று நினைக்கிறார்கள். பிடிக்காமல் விட்டுவிட்டால், கேஸ்கள் குறைந்திருக்கின்றன. போலீஸ்காரர்கள் கேஸ்களை சரிவர பிடிக்கவில்லை யென்று கூறுவார்கள். ஆகையால், மதுவிலக்குச் சட்டம் ஹரிஜன மக்களுக்கு மிக மிக அவசியம். மர முதலாளிகள் காண்டிராக்டர்கள் முதலாளிகளின் சொன்கரியத்திற்காக கள்ளுக்கடை வேண்டுமென்று சிலர் கூறுகிறார்கள். கள்ளுக்கடை வைத்துக்கொண்டு ஹரிஜனங்களை நாசம் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று நினைத்துக்கொண்டிருந்தார்கள். கடவுள் புண்ணியத்தினால் ஹரிஜனங்கள் தப்பித்துக்கொண்டார்கள். போலீஸ் அதிகாரிகள் சில இடங்களில் தவறாக நடந்து கொண்டிருக்கலாம். ஆனால், ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு இன்னும் நமது கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் என்னென்ன உத்தியோகங்கள் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமோ அதையெல்லாம் கொடுப்பார் என்று நாங்கள் நம்புகிறோம். ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு உதவியாக போலீஸ் இருக்க வேண்டும். Civil Disabilities Act-ஐ போலீஸ் நன்றாக அமுல் நடத்தவில்லை. இனியாகிலும் சரியாக நடத்தவேண்டுமென்று கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களை கேட்டுக்கொண்டு இந்த மானயத்தை ஆதரிக்கின்றேன்.”

* **SRI E. T. KUNHAN :—**“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, ഇന്നു ഹരിജനങ്ങൾ രേഖപ്പെടുത്താൻ തന്നെ അനുവദിക്കുന്ന കളക്ടറാഫീസുകൾ പരസ്പരം പരസ്പരം നിലയിലാണ്. പൊന്നാനി താലൂക്കിലെ ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ നേരെ പോലീസ് നടത്തുന്ന അക്രമത്തിന്റെ ഒരു ചെറിയ ഭാഗം ഞാൻ പറയുമ്പോൾ മനോഹരമാണ്. പൊന്നാനി താലൂക്കിൽ ആലക്കോട്ട വില്ലേജിൽ ഭൂമി 3-ാം തിയ്യതി അധികാരത്തിൽ പോലീസ് ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ വീട്ടിൽ ചെന്നു വാതിൽ ചാടിയിട്ടില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ട് ഹരിജനങ്ങളെ അടിക്കുകയും പലവിധത്തിൽ മർദ്ദനം നടത്തുകയും ചെയ്തു. എന്നാൽ അതുകൊണ്ട് അവിടെ അക്രമം നടന്നു കര നായരുടെ പീടികയിൽ, പീടിക പൂട്ടി കിടന്നുറങ്ങുന്നവരെ വീട്ടിലിറങ്ങി കളപ്പൻ എന്ന ഹരിജനെ വീട്ടിലേക്ക് പറഞ്ഞുവെക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. എന്ന് അയാൾ ചിലപ്പോൾ പറഞ്ഞു. അദ്ദേഹം നായരന്മാരെയും കടയില്ലെന്ന് എന്ന് പോലീസുകാർ മറ്റും. ഇതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ച ഭൂമി 3-ാം തിയ്യതി തന്നെ ഒരു മീറ്റിംഗ് കൂടി, പ്രമേയം പാസ്സാക്കുകയും വിവാദം താമസത്തിനെ അറിയിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി നടപടികൾ യാതൊന്നും ഇതുവരെ എടുത്തിട്ടില്ല.”

“എന്ന മാതൃമൂല, തുത്താല ഫഷ്യിൽ ‘മോളർ വില്ലേജ്’ അംഗം മേനവന്റെ അടിമ
 പ്പണി എടുക്കാത്തതുകൊണ്ട് മേനോൻ പോലീസിനെ വിളിച്ചുവരുത്തുകയും അടിമപ്പണി
 എടുക്കൻ കൂടാക്കാത്ത താമി എന്ന ഹരിജന പോലീസ് സ്റ്റേഷനിൽ ചേർന്നു കൊണ്ടുപോയി
 രണ്ടു ദിവസം മൂന്നു നാളായിരുന്ന ശേഷം വിട്ടയക്കുകയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. ചാലക്കാട്ട്
 ഹെഡ് കൺസ്റ്റബിൾ സിനിമ കണ്ടുവരുന്ന ചിലരെ കഠിനമായി മദ്ദിച്ചുവിട്ടതിനെ
 സംബന്ധിച്ചു തവഴേങ്ങിനെ അറിയിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ഇതുവരെ യാതൊരു
 നടപടിയും അവരുടെ മേൽ എടുത്തിട്ടില്ല. ഇതു മാതൃമൂല, മണ്ണാലയിൽ മൂപ്പു എന്ന ഒരു
 മൂന്നാം ഒരു ഹരിജനോടു വീഴ് കഴിയുവാൻ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ട്; അന്വേഷണം കരേറ്റു
 എടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ട്; കൂടാതെ കഠിനമായി മോഹവും ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ട്. ഇതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു
 ജില്ലാ കലക്ടർ പോലീസ് സൂപ്രണ്ടിനും വിവരം അറിയിച്ചിട്ടു പൊന്നാനി പോ
 ലീസ് യാതൊന്നും ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ല. മലബാർ ജില്ലാ കലക്ടർ രണ്ടു മാസംമുമ്പു പൊന്നാനി
 സർക്കിൾ ഇൻസ്പെക്ടറോടു മേയ് 10 എടുക്കണം എന്ന പറഞ്ഞിട്ടും ഇതുതവരെ യാതൊന്നും
 ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ല. അതിന്റെ ഒരു മോപ്പിയാണ് ഈ എന്റെ കയ്യിൽ ഉള്ളത്. പണക്കം
 രായ മദ്യകുരവരക്കുട അന്യനികൊണ്ടു പൊന്നാനി പോലീസ് പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്ന്
 പറയപ്പെട്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. തിരൂരിൽ പറയിൽ വേലായുധൻ നായർ എന്ന ഒരുമെ

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[Sri E. T. Kunhan]

അവിടുത്തെ ശബ്ദം ഇൻസ്പെക്ടറും പോലീസുകാരും കൂടി അയാളുടെ അടുത്തുകൾക്ക് മുമ്പിൽവെച്ചു അടിക്കുകയും ചവിട്ടുകയും മർദ്ദിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. അവർ വിചാരം ഗവണ്മെന്റിനെ അറിയിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിലും ഇതുവരെ യാതൊരു അന്വേഷണവും നടത്തിയിട്ടില്ല."

DEPUTY SPEAKER :—" Every hon. Member is allowed five minutes only."

* SRI D. K. RAJU :—" Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the Demand and support the cut motion. While doing so, I wish to say a few words. There is no doubt the Police Department is the most essential department in all countries of the world. As the police are the custodians of law and order, they are given enormous powers through legislation and I need not tell hon. Members how these powers are misused. As the time at my disposal is limited, I would like to say a few words about—I do not want to say their atrocities—but their actions in my own constituency. You know, Sir, I come from Srivilliputhur constituency defeating, in the election, the ex-Chief Minister who was then in charge of Police portfolio. Lorry loads of armed police were used to the fullest extent for the election propaganda in the guise of Minister's bandobust. The Circle Inspector of the place—I do not want to mention his name—is particularly capable of preparing concocted cases at a moment's notice with the help of his straw-men maintained by him. The notable part of it is that the Deputy Superintendents and District Superintendents of Police extended their support to him for such concocted cases. Many such cases are being contested by the affected parties successfully in spite of the witnesses being man-handled in one or two cases. I have reported such cases to higher officers and till now no action has been taken.

" Sir, I wish to cite a few instances where the police in the district openly took sides during the last elections. Many cases of assaults had been reported to the police and no action was taken by them. (1) In one case one of my cars was smashed by a district board school teacher in broad day-light in the presence of a vast crowd, but the police were pleased to refer to the complaints as non-cognizable. (2) The Secretary of the Forward Bloc Party, Rajapalayam, was also beaten near the Rajapalayam police station in broad day-light at 1 p.m. and that too in a bazaar. Even though seven months have elapsed since the complaint was given, no action has been taken so far. (3) Villagers who came to Rajapalayam for marketing during the days of elections were man-handled severely. Police did not take any action even when such cases were reported, as the offenders were supposed to be in the Congress camp. (4) Passenger buses and public lorries were engaged to transport the voters to the polling booths or to distribute eatables to the voters. I have got photographs of the same. Even though I personally brought this to the notice of the Deputy Superintendent and the District Superintendent, no action was taken by the Police. (5) Many a non-Congress public meeting was disturbed by stone-pelting, etc., by the Police who were used for the election propaganda of the Congress in the guise of

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election *bandobust*. (6) Indeed Congressmen are supposed to be non-violent. It is curious to see these very same Congressmen committing violence against the Communists, who in turn are dubbed to be violent both in their utterances and actions. About fifty Congressmen in Rajapalayam looted the Communist Party's office one night in the first week of April. The Police of course came there and investigated. But no action was taken against the culprits. I am telling this only to make the present Government know what has happened when the previous Government was in office. I do not want to repeat again and again the same thing. I cite that specific instance only to apprise the Chief Minister of what is happening in the districts, and how the really innocent are made to suffer for no fault of theirs. Without being influenced by any party motives, because the Communists voted against the Congress, I am sure the Hon. Chief Minister will investigate these crimes and do justice. I stress this because the matter is urgent, and disorders should be put an end to immediately. I believe the Hon. Chief Minister would take the Opposition also into his confidence, because if the Government were to run efficiently, it is very necessary that the Government should co-operate with the Opposition, for it is only they who will bring to the notice of the Government what abuses there are in the districts."

(At this stage, Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair.)

* SRI S. JAYARAMA REDDIYAR :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this Demand. Before I touch upon the general aspects of the Demand, I would request the Hon. Chief Minister to accede to the request of the former speaker, Mr. D. K. Raju, to make an enquiry into things which he alleges to have been committed by the Congress just on the eve of the recent elections. I think the Hon. Chief Minister would be very glad to take his challenge and order an open enquiry into Mr. D. K. Raju's allegations.

" I was rather driven to make a speech on this Demand, due to the speech made by the hon. Member, Mr. Kalyanasundaram from the other side. He was referring to the extravagant expenditure over the Police administration. He referred to the former Finance Minister, Mr. Gopala Reddi, who had said that the increase in the Police expenditure was due to the Communist menace in this country. Mr. Kalyanasundaram also observed that consequent on the gradual increase in the Police expenditure ever since 1946, the strength of the Communist has increased from two or sixty-two in the Assembly. The recent elections have testified to this fact. Of course we, Congressmen, are also aware of that fact. But we want an assurance from hon. Members belonging to the party of Mr. Kalyanasundaram. He asked the Hon. Chief Minister not to treat the Communists with violence at least hereafter, as they have come into the Legislature. Unfortunately Mr. Kalyanasundaram is not present here now. Instead of asking the Hon. Chief Minister to give an assurance to them first let me ask the Members of his party to give us an assurance."

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SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ On a point of information, Mr. Speaker, I would like to know what kind of assurance the hon. Member wants from us.”

* SRI S. JAYARAMA REDDIYAR :—“ An assurance that they will resort only to constitutional means to further their ends. For coming into the Legislature, they have followed constitutional methods. If that state of affairs were to continue in the years to come, I am sure there will be no necessity for us to spend as much as seven crores of rupees over the Police administration. While bringing in a cut motion to curtail the heavy expenditure on the Police Force, they are also bringing in the grievances of the constabulary. They say that the poor constables should be paid more and made to live an honourable life. How can they ask for both at the same time? The Government are fully alive to the low salaries of the petty officials in the Police department, and I request them to do their best in the matter.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I shall try to finish what I have got to say in five or six minutes.

“ The Hon. Chief Minister has heard criticisms from both sides of the House. Except for some occasional vehemence from the speeches of some of the hon. Members from this side, there were several things common between what the Congress Members spoke and what the Members of the Opposition spoke. The chief point is what should be the attitude of the Police hereafter towards the representatives of the public and in their relations with the public. That is the principal point. If an hon. Member like Sri T. N. Venkatasubba Reddi from the Government side were to say that the Police should henceforward learn to be a little more courteous towards the public, and hon. Members of the rank of Swami Sahajananda were to say that the Police in the name of helping the public, come and terrorise the villagers, surely the Hon. Chief Minister should know that things are not being done in the proper way. Let me not be misunderstood once more that I am making a sweeping statement. Of course the Police department is a vast department where we have got nearly 60,000 personnel recruited generally with no regard to their qualifications or to the traditions of the family from which they come. Unless the Hon. Chief Minister tells them to correct themselves I say things will not be all right. When we complain and refer to this or that incident, we do not refer to the vast personnel. Of course, I agree that in this State, law and order has been maintained successfully. All the same, hereafter the attitude of the Police towards the public must change and they should learn to be courteous towards the citizens; for, we are citizens, of a Sovereign, Democratic Republic.

“ I would draw the attention of the Hon. Chief Minister to certain specific instances mentioned on the floor of this House wherein the Police people were charged with having exceeded their duties. After hearing them, I am only asking the Hon. Chief

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Minister whether it will not be proper for him to consider in what particular cases the Police have erred and whether it will not be proper to call for the records in regard to them and see whether the Police officers or men in the lower ranks and which of them did really exceed their duties. Such an action on the part of the Hon. Chief Minister would inspire confidence in the people towards the administration. I do not mean that for each and every case the Hon. Chief Minister should call for records. It is enough if he did so only in specific cases wherein complaints have been made by hon. Members of this House. If in some cases the Police people have erred, they should be punished, for, Sir, the punishment of the bad man is as important as the protection of the good man. That is the essence of political philosophy.

"In this connection I may refer to a particular incident which took place in Rajahmundry and which has been reported in the issue of *Praja Patrika*, dated 9th July 1952." (Sri T. Viswanatham proceeded to read the passage which was in Telugu.)

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"I may submit, Sir, that this particular case is under investigation. The hon. Leader of the Opposition may therefore treat this case as *sub judice*."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I am glad that the Hon. Chief Minister has taken notice of this case and is taking action. I shall leave it at that."

"I shall bring to the notice of the House one more incident. In the office of the Commissioner of Police, Madras, there is one section called the 'Investigation Section.' I have come to know that the personnel in that particular section are not behaving properly towards persons who have got to come there is the course of their business. The visitors, it is said, are attended to, only if money is offered or some cigarettes or anything like that are offered. I do not want that an *ex parte* decision should be given in this case, without going into the details. In this connection a petition has come to me, addressed as the Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly. From the petition, I see that a copy of the petition would have gone to the Hon. Chief Minister also. I hope that the Hon. Chief Minister would not treat the same as anonymous petition. This petition refers to the corruption prevailing in a section of the Commissioner's office. There is no doubt whatsoever that the petitioner has not signed the petition because he is sure that he would be terrorised by the Police later. I trust that the Chief Minister would look into this matter."

"Last Sunday, we had a public meeting in which I happened to speak. As per the old traditional custom we saw an old table with a lantern by its side, for the use of the C.I.D. reporters. If the Government say they are entitled to know what I spoke, I would say, I am entitled to know what is reported. But I am not able to understand the logic behind the Government acting on

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the reports of these Police Reporters, when a copy of the speech is not being supplied to the man who has made the speech. When a man makes a speech and the same is reported to the Government, he is entitled to have a copy of the same. I do not want to make a distinction between the Police and Official Reporters. In the case of the latter, as soon as the report of a speech is ready, a copy of the same is sent to the hon. Member who has made the speech. We talk not only here in this House, Sir, but outside also. And when a report is being made about our speeches outside, it is but natural that we expect to be supplied with a copy of the same, before the Government take any action on it. I trust that the Hon. Chief Minister would bear this in mind and take suitable action.

“ Sir, Mr. Venkatasubba Reddi and others have said that the investigation of the ordinary crimes is not attended to as well as it should be. It is a matter to which the Hon. Chief Minister must pay attention. I think he may as well call an informal conference of all the Members of this House—for every one says that the investigation of the crimes is not quite good in its quality and attention. 6 p.m.

“ But having said this, I should again certainly plead for the better treatment of the Police people. In Visakhapatnam I find that the offices are congested, that accommodation has not increased, that the District Superintendent of Police's office is absolutely overcrowded, and all that. They require probably a small amount of Rs. 30,000 or Rs. 40,000 for improving the available accommodation, and I do not know why we should grudge it. Only 20 to 25 per cent of the Police constables and officers are occupying quarters built by the Government; some acquisition proceedings were started, but the whole thing was dropped. I suggest that the Government must find a way to improve the condition in that place. In Visakhapatnam the Special Armed Police are living in thatched houses left as a legacy of the war. I suggest that the Special Armed Police people must be given better treatment; for in all times of trouble, it is the Reserved and the Armed Police that are coming to our help. Their morale also is good, and it must be kept on a high level.

“ One other small matter. A few years ago the Fire Service section was merged with the Police department. I do not see why it was so decided. I know such a proposal was rejected sometime in 1946-47; but afterwards somehow the police people got the upper hand and they merged the fire service in their own department. I have heard from several sources, and I also know as a matter of fact, that our Fire Service department is one of the best-conducted departments in this State. I will ask the Hon. Chief Minister to consider afresh this question, whether it is not possible to separate the Fire Service department from the Police. I understand one of the Personal Assistants to the Inspector-General has gone to foreign countries for some special

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training, and come out with merit. I would request the Hon. Chief Minister to go into this matter.

"Once more I submit that an atmosphere of freedom must be instilled into our minds, and we must not be made to feel that the Police people are here, there and everywhere, preventing us from holding meetings except with their permission making a report of our speeches, or following us and that they have us always under their surveillance. Do let us feel in this country that after Swaraj we are free and that the Police people are confining their attention only to law and order and not to politics. In fact, if you look into the number of the Deputy Superintendents of Police in the Crimes and Special Branch and the X-Branch of the Police department, you will see they are more in number in those Branches than in the ordinary branches. I submit that the time has come when we should pay more and more attention to the investigation of ordinary crime and make the people's lives safe, make the people feel that they can safely sleep in open places and on terraces in their houses, not only in the Madras City, but in Visakhapatnam and other places also. I do not discuss how this feeling has come; but I would request the Hon. Chief Minister to go into this aspect of the matter and make the people once more feel that we are in a very happy State where we can sleep with our hands on our chest freely in the open air, and that we are really protected by the Police people and not terrorised by them, as has been alleged by so many people in the House and outside."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very grateful to the hon. Leader of the Opposition for the manner in which he wound up the debate before I had to stand up to reply. Every suggestion that he has made was constructive, and I assure him that all those suggestions will receive not the best attention, but as much attention as I can give to them. The Hon. Leader of the Opposition will not hesitate to believe me when I say this, that I shall try to do my best, which is limited not only by my capacity but also by the capacity of the people to pay for any improvement in all these directions. After all, we must remember that we stand on the basis of the resources, the tax and the revenue resources that we have in the country. Do I not know that if the Police department is very important, it may have had associations of displeasure on the part of the people? But now that we are free, we should try our best to get rid of those associations and really to appreciate the great and important position which the Police department and the policemen as a whole occupy in the life of the country. We have not reached a stage when we could dispense with protection of that kind; the people have not settled down to live the good life without any control or regulation or protection from outside. We do need the Police. One hon. Member referred to the fact that we relied on non-violence and it is absurd that we should have a Police and make a Demand for Rs. 7 crores and odd. Put that way, it is very picturesque and it has really appealed to me as an artistic way of

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putting things. But hard facts are there and we do require the police as the hon. Leader of the Opposition just now in his last winding up speech said, and we do require peace and increased efficiency. And he has also asked me to find ways and means to get them. I thank him for the suggestion made.

"I thank also the hon. Members who referred to smaller matters of detail in respect of the improvement of the Police department and its working as such. After all, sometimes small things are more important than general observations, and I thank them therefore for those suggestions they have made.

"With regard to the improvement of the pay and prospects of the policemen, especially of the large number of constables, I must mention, the strength of the Police as it is, even according to hon. Friends sitting opposite, comes to about 50,000 to 60,000—I mean those in the lowest ranks—and even the slightest increase in their salary, ordinary arithmetic will show what it will come to. I was very anxious to raise the salaries of these people, and I am still thinking about it as to what can be done; I am thinking not only in the way of salary, because I have an idiosyncrasy, it may be called, of doing something which will not be wasted by the people concerned. I am thinking of what can be done for these people which might make them happy and hopeful and cheerful in life. I have nothing ready yet, but I have only indicated what I am thinking. But the opposite side, I venture to say, is alert and desires to steal my thunder. I am also vigilant always and wish to steal their thunder. Short notice questions to the effect 'Are you considering the question of salary increase for the Police people, if so, what is the proposal, at what stage is it?' and questions of that kind may come; they are all but moves on the political chess board. These are no doubt just, and even from the political view-point, I cannot object to them. In fact, I rather enjoy such things; only I wish it were all taken in good humour. I am thinking, as I said, as to what we can possibly do within two limitations—one, of my own capacity to think out the thing and get it done, preventing waste and turning away from the path you want me to go along, and the other the limitation, as I said, of the finances of the country. I know the Police constable is poor; but I know the peasants—the men who constitute the main body of the people supporting the Government—every one of them is poorer still. There are many peasants—why many, most peasants—who would like to have constables' posts given to them. So, one has to pay and the other has to receive, and I should see what should be done. There is no good hon. Members who are not Communists appreciating what I say; they must really follow up that appreciation with constructive suggestions and constructive help. As regards my other friends, I am very glad to see, and I am more or less convinced that my friends opposite—the Communist friends I am referring to—have settled down to a peaceful life. I won't grant the proposition that they never were guilty

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of anything wrong; but they are trying to change, if I may say so, because it is only when a man says several times, 'I am not guilty, I never did it' that I can rely on him to stick to that statement for the future. I am very glad that the Communists have settled down to a peaceful life, and I do hope that I may even be able to reduce the Armed Police, as was demanded by somebody. Let me say in this connection that India as a whole, and our State in particular, so far as the work of the Police department is concerned, does not take a second place; I can claim on behalf of this Government and on behalf of all of us, that our law and order administration is second to none in the other States or in Asia. I can claim that. I am not comparing it with those in Western countries. Perhaps some of them are much better or much worse, but this much I may say, that here so far as the general people are concerned, they are protected much better in the way of crime and disorder and all that, than any other people in Asia. We have also a very highly civilized system of Government in this country, which is not enjoyed in other parts of Asia. Of course, all civilized organizations cost something. We did not create all this ourselves; we are still as poor as we ever were. But somebody else created this costly organization for us, and they thought so far as the old order of things was concerned, that they should be content with certain kinds of protection in certain fields only; but we have had to extend such protection all over, to all the people, as was observed by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition. He asked: 'Should we not sleep wherever we want to, safe in the feeling that the Government are looking after us, that there is no fear whatever, and that there is no chance of anybody robbing us of our purse or anybody putting a knife or dagger into our side and killing us while we are sleeping?' We want that kind of protection everywhere now; and that is also the cry of the villager now, as was observed by some friends, and as I observed myself on another occasion here. Everyone wants a police station or an outpost in his village, for the purpose of protection. In the lucky old days, a paddy field was not the object of theft, nor a garden; the paddy field was not the object of theft, except perhaps for the parrots and the birds and the foxes that came and took away something. Then, men did not steal from fields; but to-day, nothing is safe. Not only the birds in the daytime have to be guarded against, but at night time the people have to guard not against night-beasts alone, but against men also. And so, everybody wants a Police station and good protection in his own place.

"Now, my idea of the Police department work, I can sketch briefly. People are apt to compare dissimilar things. For instance, Mr. R. V. Swaminathan who seems to have had the good fortune of travelling all over the world—I have not seen any place outside India, and even in India, not all the places—says that a constable whom he saw in a London street or in Stockholm was very polite and courteous. He narrated how he guided and helped the ignorant. It may be true. Here too, if an outsider or foreigner comes here from another country, our Police constables will be very polite and helpful to him. Moreover, India

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to-day enjoys a great reputation in all the countries of the world, and I do not at all feel surprised that when Mr. Swaminathan went to London or Stockholm and the constable there found him to be a brown-coloured Indian and an outsider, he was very kind and polite and courteous to him. Whenever those constables in those countries meet foreigners, they know how to behave. That is how they have secured a good name for themselves and for the London police; but I am not emphasising it too much, lest I should be considered as explaining it away. The Police in London and other places are no doubt very good people, and I wish our Police also were like that. But we should not compare, as I said, dissimilar things. What is the good of comparing me, for instance, with a peasant in the village or a worker in a factory? The Police traffic constable in London has nothing whatever to do with crime or the detection or investigation of crime; it is his special business to guide men on the streets and to look after the streets, the proper keeping of the road and to see that everybody gives necessary respect to everybody else. But here, our Police people are directly connected with investigation at every turn. All of us think only about the Police whenever something happens. We all know there are two sets of crimes. When a crime takes place, we immediately think of the Policeman; we all know there are a set of people in the Police station, dull, may be arrogant, and we report the crime to them, and they have to investigate. There are two classes of crime. In one, there are some witnesses who say that they have seen the crime committed and it is the duty of the Police people to record it and then proceed to prosecute the people concerned; such cases constitute one-half or even three-fourths of the total number of cases. But there are other cases where a man goes at night and kills somebody or takes away movable properties; and that is a man whom nobody has seen, but yet the Police get a report of the murder or the theft. It is a difficult job for the policemen to discover the criminal. No doubt if the law were altered and we were enabled to convict people on pure suspicion, we could certainly ask the Policeman to gather all the rumours and arrest and prosecute people and even punish them. But fortunately or unfortunately, our Policemen are taken to task for prosecuting cases without sufficient evidence and also whenever cases fail. They must therefore take proper evidence and satisfy the Judge long after the incident itself happened, that it is all true. And there are lawyers on either side who cast doubts upon every man and every man's motives, and everybody has got to be examined, cross-examined and re-examined and so on. Then the case ends in conviction, only if the Judge is satisfied. That is the kind of investigation going on here. I have often thought about it.

“ Here is a special report I get, saying that so and so is murdered and that no evidence is forthcoming and nobody is suspected. I wonder, how on earth the policeman is going to detect the case. But later I get a report that so and so has been arrested and some evidence has been gathered. I take my hat off to that policeman. It might be that he had worried or threatened

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or beaten somebody and got the information. But somehow or other he got it and then it is confirmed and corroborated. The articles concerned in the case are found and the man is punished. That kind of investigation is the common type of investigation in difficult cases in our country. I grant that it is not of a very high class. There is a certain amount of third degree methods, I grant, but it is much less than in the old days.

“ Sir, some of the old books were misleading my good friends on the other side. They read some of the old books containing the methods of torture. Those things and other things are repeated here as though they got the information directly and have seen them. Although everyone admits that it is not done in daylight or in the presence of people, yet the people are so sure that it has been done. At the same time, it is impossible to produce evidence. Now, these are the difficulties in investigation and I want to get rid of them all. I do not think that I shall be able to get rid of them all. I can only say that we shall try to do our best. But what are the steps necessary to be taken?

“ The investigating officer in those difficult cases should be a very trained man and should be a very clever man and he should know much more than we all know. He should not only know the laws of human nature but the laws of psychology of criminally-minded people. He has to go into that and discover. It is a difficult thing to improve that part of the administration of the police. Even in England, Scotland Yard is very famous but they too go wrong in many cases, but in some cases they do well. Our police are going forward in that also. They have also realized that the crude methods are of no use and that better methods should be employed. They are trying to do that but we have to pay for all this. It will not come for nothing. You cannot take a head constable who has served five years as acting Sub-Inspector and confirm him and, at the same time, expect him to do all these wonderful things. He will follow only the old methods. That is why the department and the Government are a little bit anxious about accepting the claims merely of seniority in these matters. We will have, therefore, to tolerate, accommodate and improve by careful thinking and by spending more money.

“ There is another police, I need hardly mention. That is the police we all know in Madras. They have to keep order in the streets and look after the traffic. They look very imposing in their dress and see that everything is kept smooth on the roads. That is a different kind of duty. But unfortunately in our country, the policemen are transferable and some men are liable to be put in one branch for sometime and then transferred to another branch. There is a certain amount of confusion on account of it and we are gradually getting down to specialization in that respect also. Therefore, I do hope that things will improve. I do not want to pitch our expectations very high.

“ Then, of course, the main thing is, we must increase the pay of these people. We cannot get good quality men unless we pay

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for them. The man who can become a workshop manager somewhere may not agree to be a constable and be a very clever man, and he will have to be paid as much as he would get in the other place. That is where the question of finance comes in. And if you increase the present strength of the police and if our villagers should be granted their request the cost will be enormous. If there is one police station for a radius of 12 to 15 miles, it is hardly possible for the information about crimes to reach the police quickly, and the evidence disappears at the other end before information reaches. Therefore, we have to increase the strength of the police. To increase police stations and constables and improve their quality and give them training, we require an enormous amount of money. Then the question comes, what is the choice, which is the lesser evil? Are we to grind our peasantry and get more money, or are we to carry on as we did in the old days, 500 or 1,000 years ago? With all the complaints that we have to-day, if only we compare with the state of things that obtained 500 or 700 or 1,000 years ago, we could see that there has been an enormous improvement. Even compared to 200 years ago there has been an enormous improvement. In those days, every village was a scene of dacoity, if only there was money available. All roads were available for the highway robber at night and men could not travel except in long lines of 100 or 200 carts. Now things are better. Unfortunately things have recently gone back a little. We have made a little retrogression after the recent war. But that is a moral phenomenon observed all over the world and not merely in India.

“Sir, I deny most emphatically and refute the charge made by Mr. Kalyanasundaram and Mr. Ramamurthi that the police is merely an instrument in politics and that we demand Rs. 7 crores in order to keep ourselves in office. It is a false charge and I repudiate it with all the force that the Telugu phrase ‘*ghanta-patham*’ used by one of the speakers carried. Does it mean words ringing like a bell?”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“It is a fact that the Leader of the House in the previous Assembly did say that it was because of the Communist activities, Rs. 2 crores had to be spent.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“I am coming to that. Was I saying anything contrary to that? I won't let it go. I will refer to it now. The previous Leader of the House probably said that Rs. 2 crores was spent, and he might be right according to his calculation that extra expenditure was incurred on account of the Communists. What was the argument advanced on the strength of that expenditure? Now, my friend Mr. Kalyanasundaram, one of the most eminent members of the Communist Party and one whom I know thoroughly and have known for a long time said, ‘You have used all the money against us all these years. You did not succeed. What purpose have you achieved? We had only two seats then in the Assembly. Now we have got 70 seats’. Now, I claim and I want the hon. Leader of the Opposition to take note of the claim that this is

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what I consider success. I claim that I have drawn 70 members of the Communist Party into the Assembly. That is what Rs. 2 crores did. They were underground or in hiding somewhere and this Rs. 2 crores made them come into the Assembly. I say, that this Rs. 2 crores was well spent, even if it had produced nothing but the present attachment of the Communist Party to Parliamentary methods. I hope it will grow. I pray it will grow. I accept all the statements made on the other side that they will never go back to their old ways, that they were never guilty and were always peaceful, and not only peaceful as between Russia and America but peaceful inside India, which is far more important to me. I want them to stick to their words. I hold them to their promise. I say, Rs. 2 crores was well-spent. As I said before, I will reduce the Armed Police if only they will give me the promise by continually denying the charge I am making. If only to get that denial, I will continue to make the charge so that it will be fresh in their mind. (An hon. Member: 'And when will it stop?') I will stop it one day. There is no difficulty about that. I am not a hard man. I am not a man of war. I am a man of peace. I want peace. I yearn for peace. I wish this debate had been less arduous for me. I do not mind this debate. But I do not like a debate with guns, daggers and spears.

"Then, let there be no intoxication over this on the part of my young friends. I am glad I am using the word 'friends' (laughter). There is a gradual change. I called them 'enemies'. I shall call them friends by and by (renewed laughter). I am sorry to notice that they show some little signs of intoxication over their victory in the elections. They said, 'We won in this election. The tribunal of the people has decided that issue'. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must tell the hon. Members that Judges are Judges. Elections are elections. Elections are not judicial courts. It is wrong to imagine because they succeeded in elections, their crimes have been disproved or guilt wiped out. I say that elections are only elections. They are good for their own purposes. Decisions of courts cannot be reversed by any number of election results. Election results only show that a person has secured a certain number of votes. They do not show anything more than that, whether the results relate to this side of the House or the other side. If any charge is made that some persons were guilty of violence or some other thing then that should be decided by evidence in a judicial trial and by properly tested evidence and they have been so decided in courts. Here, I come to so many statements which have been made on the floor of the House. Allegations have been made that we have gone from bad to worse and from worse to much worse; and they were left there, as if it was enough to make allegations of the most serious and heinous nature and leave them there. From my point of view it is bad to make such allegations. Cases which occurred long ago are put forward. It was said that there was not a fair trial, for the trying Magistrate was subservient to the Government. All old cases, true or false. Let it be noted that we have put no res-

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traint on anybody. We do not want anybody to act under restraint. The other side is also not under any restraint. They have made charges against the late Chief Minister. I suppose a few months hence they may come forward and say that the present Chief Minister committed murder and robbery. I hope that will not happen. But in this House Members should exercise restraint in what they say. Surely if such statements were made outside this House, it would be an offence. But even here it is indecent to do so. I have to say this, because we in this House have heard so many things said. A debate is not useful if each one of us makes allegations generally and particularly, mostly generally. Allegations were made relating to cases which have been decided and concluded once for all. I hope hon. Members will not indulge in that kind of debate. For I cannot reverse the past. It is not decent to go into the past. There are people who cast aspersions on others. If cases are brought to my notice and if they are within my jurisdiction I promise on behalf of myself and on behalf of my staff that we will look into them. But it is unnecessary here to emphatically assert, or to pitch one's voice high as if it were a public oration to get a cheer or two. (Laughter.) That is the Hitlerian method which I strongly deprecate. What is the good of raising one's voice?"

SRI M. HANUMANTHA RAO :—" If the Hon. Chief Minister ceases to talk of chaos and disorderliness and attribute them to the Communists we will have no point or occasion to make such orations."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I have not referred yet to chaos to-day at least. (Laughter.) There is no reason at all for raising one's voice to the Hitlerian pitch. But let that pass. It is a case of mutual accommodation. I shall not refer to it as you gradually reduce the pitch of your voice."

• " Sir, I do not wish to detain the House any longer. I have replied to most important things. If I have omitted to reply to any points, it does not mean that I disregard them or that I do not wish to take note of them. I hope the House will not hesitate to give its assent to this Demand, and if I come later on for an increase in the Demand for proper purposes, I do hope the House will grant that also." (Laughter.)

MR. SPEAKER :—" Mr. P. Ramamurthi, the mover of the cut motion, is not present here. His cut motion will therefore be deemed to have been withdrawn unless some one else wants it to be put to vote."

SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—" I press the motion to a vote."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The question is—

' To reduce the allotment of Rs. 7,10,82,100 under Demand XIV—Police by Rs. 100.' "

The cut motion was lost.

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MR. SPEAKER :—“ I shall now put the original motion to the vote of the House. The question is—

‘ That the Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,10,82,100 under Demand XIV—Police.’ ”

The Demand was carried and the Grant was made.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I now adjourn the House to meet again at 10-30 a.m. on Friday, 18th July 1952.”

The House then adjourned.

